

Eiwittransitie en culturele innovatie

Wat bedrijven, organisaties, en overheden kunnen leren van duurzame voedseltrends in binnen- en buitenland

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Samenvatting, conclusies, en aanbevelingen

De Nederlandse regering heeft zich tot doel gesteld om binnen 15 jaar de positie van *koploper* te verwerven in de verduurzaming van de voedselproductie, en zij wil tevens toewerken naar een geheel duurzame voedselvoorziening in 2050. Onderzoek laat zien dat de productie en consumptie van dierlijke eiwitten hierbij een centraal aandachtspunt vormen. In de *Versnellingsagenda Eiwitinnovaties* zijn daarom kansen in kaart gebracht hoe het Nederlandse bedrijfsleven het marktaandeel van innovatieve eiwitproducten kan verdubbelen. Consumenten denken bij hun dagelijkse voedselkeuzes echter zelden in termen van eiwitten en een vertaalslag van innovatieve producten naar eetpatronen en voedselcultuur is daarom noodzakelijk. Dit rapport gaat juist daar diepgaand op in.

Veelbelovende trends onder de bevolking en hoe daar op in te spelen

Vanuit de maatschappij dienen zich innovatieve oplossingen en ontwikkelingen aan. Trendonderzoek laat zien dat consumenten vanuit nieuwe waarden hun voedselpatronen vormgeven. Zo tonen consumenten zich in toenemende mate kritisch over herkomst, kwaliteit, en duurzaamheid van voedselproducten. Ook is een groeiend deel van de bevolking geïnteresseerd in streekproducten en lokale voedselvoorziening, parttime vegetarisme, en voedsel als ‘life style’—zoals bijvoorbeeld tot uitdrukking komt in de *Slow Food* beweging. Voedselkeuzes lijken in toenemende mate te begrijpen te zijn als uiting van identiteit, waarden, en wereldbeeld. Daarom is het belangrijk om voedselkeuzes in een breed sociaal-cultureel kader te zien en de link te leggen met onderliggende culturele trends in de samenleving. Het onderzoek laat zien dat bepaalde waarden en praktijken bij elkaar horen. Voor het ontwikkelen en vermarkten van innovaties is het dus van belang deze in te passen in bestaande culturele trends.

In dit boekje doen wij verslag van een verkennend trendonderzoek uitgevoerd in opdracht van het *Ministerie van Economische zaken, Landbouw, en Innovatie* (EL&I). Dit onderzoek had als doel inzicht te geven in twee verschillende culturele voedseltrends, de daarmee geassocieerde waarden en praktijken te beschrijven, en mogelijke aanknopingspunten voor beleid en praktijk te identificeren. De resultaten van dit onderzoek en aanbevelingen voor bedrijfsleven, overheden, en organisaties zijn beschreven in deel 1, getiteld *“Towards sustainable food consumption patterns in society: What policymakers can learn from the organic and gourmet food movements.”* In deel 2, *“Six case-studies,”* presenteren we zes voorbeelden die illustreren hoe verschillende maatschappelijke actoren binnen en buiten Nederland reeds succesvol inspelen op deze trends—van het Amerikaanse en commercieel zeer succesvolle *Whole Foods* tot onze eigen Amsterdamse *Urban Agriculture* beweging, van Duitsland's grootste biologische bakkerij *Hopffisterei* tot de integrale voedselstrategie van San Francisco. Tot slot vindt u in deel 3 nog een overzicht van allerhande initiatieven die mogelijk interessant zijn in het kader van de eiwittransitie.

De biologische en gourmet voedselbewegingen: Inspirerende trendsetters

In deel 1 (hoofdstuk 3) doen wij verslag van ons onderzoek naar de biologische en gourmet voedselbewegingen. De 'gourmet' beweging wordt gekenmerkt door individuen die grote waarde hechten aan intens smaakplezier en de *esthetiek* van het eten, het beheersen van een breed palet aan voedselcompetenties (waaronder ingrediëntselectie, koken, presentatie van het voedsel, voedselkennis), en de diverse sociale verbindingen die voedsel in de samenleving teweegbrengt. Voedsel behoort voor hen smaakvol, avontuurlijk, en cultuurverbonden te zijn. De biologische ('organics') beweging wordt daarentegen gekenmerkt door een *ethische* kijk op voedsel, waarbij de stoffelijke en morele zuiverheid van voedsel hoog gewaardeerd wordt. Voedsel voor hen behoort puur, vitaal, en eenvoudig te zijn—het liefst zoals het direct uit de natuur komt, vers van het land, puur en eerlijk, en zo min mogelijk belastend voor de aarde. Deze mensen voelen zich doorgaans sterk verbonden

Communicatie rondom duurzame voedselconsumptie

- *Benadruk de positieve waarden van duurzame producten en alternatieven*
- *Spreek een zo breed mogelijk waardepalet aan en leg verbanden*
- *Sluit aan bij de trends en motivaties die mensen al vertonen*
- *Neem de barrières weg die het vertonen van duurzamer gedrag belemmeren*

Communicatie voor sociale verandering

- *Visie: Ontwikkel een aantrekkelijke visie voor de toekomst, “the promise of heaven”*
- *Keuze: Laat zien dat men actief voor deze visie kan kiezen*
- *Plan: Presenteer een concreet plan op hoofdlijnen*
- *Actie: Geef een handelingsperspectief dat bijdraagt aan de visie, én iets oplevert voor mensen zelf.*

(Zie Futerra, 2009.)

met de natuur en waarden aandachtigheid, intuïtie, en gevoel. Eten voor hen moet vooral een goed gevoel geven.

Deze twee waardeoriëntaties (zie tabel 2) hebben potentieel een cruciale betekenis in het motiveren van duurzamere voedselkeuzes onder de Nederlandse bevolking. Beide oriëntaties hebben verschillende voorkeuren met betrekking tot biologisch vlees, vleesvermindering, en vleesvervanging, welke in hoofdstuk 4 in meer detail beschreven worden. De waarden en praktijken van deze groepen kunnen bijdragen aan een verduurzaming van de voedselproductie en -consumptie, en deze mensen kunnen gezien worden als *trendsetters* op het gebied van de consumptie van biologisch, lokaal, en seizoensvoedsel; de vermindering en vervanging van de vleesconsumptie; en het opnieuw uitvinden en vormgeven van de voedselcultuur.

Communicatie: Aanspreken van verschillende positieve waarden

Hoofdstuk 5 gaat in op communicatie en beleid, en is van centraal belang voor bedrijfsleven, overheden, en organisaties. Het communiceren over duurzaamheid en

een duurzamer eetpatroon gaat gepaard met specifieke uitdagingen, zoals het motiveren van ander gedrag door een *aansprekende toekomstvisie* te ontwikkelen en de eigen waarden helder te articuleren. Juist doordat de waardeoriëntaties die bij de biologische en gourmet consumenten leven zo breed en uiteenlopend zijn, hebben ze het potentieel een groot deel van de (Nederlandse) bevolking te kunnen aanspreken en inspireren.

Dit waardepalet varieert namelijk van meer ‘traditionele’ waarden (zoals een waardering voor familiebedrijven en –boerderijen; ambachtelijke productiemethoden; seizoensgebonden voedsel bereid naar grootmoeders recept; sociale verbindingen tussen consumenten en producenten), tot meer ‘moderne’ waarden (nadruk op plezier en smaak; producten van hoge kwaliteit; experiment en innovatie; florerende lokale economieën; gezondheid en voedingswaarde), tot meer postmoderne waarden (natuur en milieu; dierenwelzijn; puur, natuurlijk voedsel; eten met aandacht; voedselkeuzes als uitdrukking van de eigen identiteit; vitaliteit en holistische gezondheid; sociale en mondiale rechtvaardigheid). Dit zeer uiteenlopende waardepalet biedt daarmee mogelijkheden voor het ontwikkelen van een inspirerende toekomstvisie en het gestalte geven aan diverse vernieuwende communicatievormen. In de praktijk blijkt dat de ontwikkeling van een inspirerende, waardegedreven visie op een gezond, duurzaam, en (h)eerlijk voedselsysteem vaak tegengehouden wordt door een focus op de tekortkomingen van het huidige voedselsysteem.

Het slechten van barrières: Aanbevelingen

Tevens gaan we in hoofdstuk 5 dieper in op de noodzaak allerhande barrières tot gedrags- en dieetverandering weg te nemen of te verminderen. Voor elke door ons geïdentificeerde barrière geven we praktisch advies. Daarnaast illustreren de zes cases hoe verschillende organisaties deze barrières op creatieve wijze weten te slechten.

Vervreemding van de natuur

Aanbeveling: Laat mensen de samenhang tussen natuur en voedsel, planten, oogsten, en bereiden *ervaren*. Vind manieren om de verbindingen te versterken, bijvoorbeeld door het ondersteunen van een meer lokale voedselproductie in de vorm van stadslandbouw, schooltuinen, publiek onderhouden boomgaarden, et cetera. (Zie ook cases: Stadslandbouw Amsterdam, Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten.)

Bedrijfsleven: Percepties rondom de natuurlijkheid van innovatieve producten zijn belangrijk. Lupine of algen als vleesvervangers kunnen de waarde van natuurverbondenheid aanspreken, maar men kan ook benadrukken dat het om een lokaal geproduceerd, ambachtelijk product gaat.

Een tegenstelling tussen puurheid en plezier

Aanbeveling: Informeer over de morele en sociale dimensies van dagelijkse consumentenkeuzes door de positieve waarden en aspecten van de gewenste keuzes te benadrukken. Duurzamere voedselkeuzes moeten geassocieerd worden met moraal én plezier. (Zie ook cases: The Small Planet Institute, Whole Foods Market, Bakkerij Hofpfisterei.)

Bedrijfsleven: Natuurlijke en biologische producten worden sterk geassocieerd met gezondheid en puurheid. Associaties met genieten, hoge kwaliteit, en smaakplezier kunnen versterkt worden.

Aandachtsloze voedselkeuzes

Aanbeveling: Speel in op doorgaans minder bewuste voedselkeuzes, zoals wanneer individuen zich in publieke ruimtes schikken in wat beschikbaar is. Bijvoorbeeld door te experimenteren met portiegrootte en biologische en/of vegetarische kwaliteit in school-, overheids-, en bedrijfskantines. Op deze manier kunnen ook minder bewuste eters verleid worden tot, en bekend gemaakt worden met een duurzamere keuze. (Zie ook case: Bakkerij Hofpfisterei.)

6 inspirerende cases

Whole Foods Market

De kunst van de verleiding — het aanspreken van een breed waardepalet

Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten

Biologische, regionale vleesproducten in een nieuw, integraal businessmodel

Small Planet Institute

De kracht van ideeën en inspirerende verhalen. Puurheid & plezier verbinden

Stadslandbouw Amsterdam

Voedselautonomie en zelfredzaamheid als drijfveer voor duurzaamheid

Bakkerij Hofpisterei

Biologische bakker met een marktaandeel van 35% in München — superieure smaak als motivatie

San Francisco Sustainable Food Strategy

Een integrale aanpak op systeemniveau

Bedrijfsleven: Wat betreft

eiwitinnovaties liggen hier hybride producten voor de hand. Op die manier kunnen bedrijven met portiegrootte en duurzamere ingrediënten experimenteren.

De culturele aanname dat de maaltijd zonder vlees geen volwaardige maaltijd is

Aanbeveling: Benut trends die de culturele norm van vleesconsumptie uitdagen, waarbij de nadruk op de positieve kwaliteiten van de ‘vervanging’ worden gelegd. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan vegetarisch koken als creatieve vaardigheid, die te associëren is met experiment, innovatie, en “vegetable gastronomy,” of met een ‘gezonde en gelanceerde levensstijl.’ Het in de markt zetten van voedselinnovaties zoals vleesvervangers, insecten, lupine, en algen, is hierbij ook van belang. (Zie ook case: The Small Planet Institute.)

Bedrijfsleven: Denk niet uitsluitend in

termen van vervanging, maar vooral in termen van de positieve waarden van het nieuwe product. Bijvoorbeeld hebben ook groenten en peulvruchten een lange culturele traditie van grote gastronomische waarde.

Een gebrek aan voedselvaardigheden waaronder vegetarisch koken

Aanbeveling: Ondersteun initiatieven die mensen de mogelijkheid geven voedselcompetenties te ontwikkelen. Scholen zijn belangrijke instituties, maar ook bedrijven en gemeenten kunnen hierop inspelen. (Zie ook cases: Whole foods Market, Stadslandbouw Amsterdam, Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten.)

Bedrijfsleven: Speel in op de creativiteit en het avontuur dat gepaard gaat met de bereiding en het eten van vegetarisch voedsel of duurzame voedselinnovaties. Voedselvaardigheid betekent ook autonomie en onafhankelijkheid.

De fragmentatie van voedselproductie- en consumptie

Aanbeveling: Laat sociale verbindingen in het voedselsysteem zien. Bijvoorbeeld door producenten een gezicht te geven en informatie te verstrekken over herkomst en productieprocessen. (Zie ook cases: Herrmannsdorfer, Bakkerij Hopfisterei, Stadslandbouw Amsterdam)

Bedrijfsleven: Zet in op een transparante (korte) productieketen en informeer consumenten over herkomst en productieprocessen, mogelijk via de media of andere informatiekanaalen.

Hoofdconclusies

- Eetpatronen moeten in de context van *identiteit, waarden, en wereldbeelden* gezien worden. Een goed begrip van de hiermee geassocieerde voedseltrends en onderliggende waarden kan bijdragen aan succesvolle verduurzaminginitiatieven en –strategieën.
- Bedrijven, maatschappelijke organisaties, en overheden doen er goed aan een *inspirerende, waardegedreven toekomstvisie* te ontwikkelen die aansluit bij uiteenlopende waardeoriëntaties en praktijken. Op deze manier kunnen zij zoveel mogelijk consumenten bereiken, en is

de kans dat zij groepen uitsluiten kleiner. Inspirerende en aansprekende waarden met betrekking tot duurzaam voedsel blijken krachtig te leven in de samenleving.

- De waarden die uit dit onderzoek naar voren komen zijn zeer gevarieerd en omvatten o.a. smaak en kwaliteit; lokale economie en sociale relaties; (holistische) gezondheid en vitaliteit; experiment en innovatie; ambachtelijkheid en culturele traditie; esthetiek en eten met aandacht; voedsel bereid met liefde; milieu, dierenwelzijn, en mondiale rechtvaardigheid. Zie ook tabel 2 ter inspiratie (p. 28).
- Oriëntaties laten een verschil zien tussen een nadruk op ethische en esthetische waarden, welke tot uitdrukking komt in de tegenoverstelling van puurheid en plezier. Deze oriëntaties kunnen met elkaar gecombineerd worden en dragen het potentieel in zich om elkaar wederzijds te versterken. Juist op die manier kan de trend naar meer duurzame keuzes versterkt worden, zoals verschillende cases illustreren (Whole Foods Market, Bakery Hofpfisterei).
- Beleid op het gebied van voedsel vraagt om een *holistische, systeemgeoriënteerde aanpak*, waarbij thema's zoals voedselzekerheid, sociale gerechtigheid, gezondheid, obesitas, lokale economie, ecologie, en duurzaamheid samenhangend behandeld worden (zie ook case: San Francisco Sustainable Food Strategy).

Part 1: Research Report

Towards sustainable food consumption patterns in society: What policy-makers can learn from the organic and gourmet food-cultures

Abstract

Food sustainability demands particular attention in the quest for a more sustainable society. The cultural embeddedness of consumption patterns and the habitual character of many food-related tasks imply that changing food consumption behavior is notoriously difficult. When understanding food consumption within a broad social-cultural frame, pathways towards a more sustainable diet can potentially be developed. This study aims to facilitate the transition towards more sustainable food consumption patterns in society, by giving insight into the emergence of a (more) sustainable food culture and its associated practices, and translating these insights to the policy making process. We do this by summarizing the results of interview-studies exploring the organic and gourmet food movements, and by deriving six major value-profiles from them. Based on these profiles, two differentiated orientations emerge that can be contrasted on the values of pleasure (aesthetics) and purity (ethics). We then provide insight into effective communication strategies to maintain and elevate individual motivations for behavioral change by appealing to the identified values, as well as address potential barriers to such change by offering policy-advice for governments, businesses, and organizations. Particular attention is given to the needed shift from 'great quantity' to 'great quality' in the Western public's meat consumption.

1 Introduction: Sustainable food consumption and the importance of culture

Processes of food production and consumption have the single largest environmental impact of all human activities (Smil, 2000). Therefore, the sustainability of these processes demands specific attention in the quest for sustainable development. Food choices entail an intimate relationship with the natural world, and our food habits reflect our foundational beliefs regarding our obligations towards other people, nature, and animals (Fischler, 1988; Montanari, 2006), as well as our beliefs regarding how to best serve our own comfort, health, and well-being. Next to the more obvious physical and physiological values associated with food consumption, human beings derive a range of other, non-material, values from the food they eat, including social, cultural, aesthetic, symbolic, moral, and spiritual, which together could be said to reflect people's understanding of humanity's place on earth (Hulme, 2009). Hence, the nature and quality of our food consumption can serve as a magnifying glass on, and a mirror of, our collective culture and identity (*ibid*). Food sustainability therefore needs to be regarded as a complex policy problem that demands trade-offs and raises difficult dilemmas (Aiking & de Boer, 2004), and for which deeply engrained, social-cultural habits, values, and worldviews need to be addressed.

There is considerable evidence that particular consumption patterns are problematic and that changing them can make a great contribution towards a more sustainable society. Particularly, the world's growing hunger for meat, fish, and other products derived from animals, have been identified as the most serious threat to global environmental sustainability (FAO, 2006; Weis, 2007). Moreover, the production and consumption of livestock is predicted to double on a worldwide scale until 2050 as a result of a growing world population and rising prosperity (Keyzer, Merbis, Pavel, & van Wesenbeeck, 2005), thereby underscoring the urgent need, as well as the enormous potential of addressing this issue. Hence, consumers in notably the Western world need to shift towards a more sustainable diet: that is, a diet in which proteins of animal origin are partially substituted by plant proteins (Aiking, 2011; Gerbens-Leenes, Nonhebel,

& Krol, 2010; Smil, 2002) and where food is derived from more careful and ecologically integrated production processes (Lang & Heasman, 2004). Over a medium- to long-term horizon, these more sustainable production practices present not only ecological but also real economical advantages (Herren, 2011; Stehfest, et al., 2009). In response to this need for, and potential of, more sustainable food production- and consumption processes in society, the Dutch ministry of *Economic Affairs, Agriculture, and Innovation* has started to explore pathways towards what is referred to as the '*protein transition*,' the transition towards a diet in which the sources of protein are increasingly derived from plants as well as from sustainably produced animal-based foods (Bakker & Dagevos, 2010; Hoogland, te Riele, & Rotmans, 2008). Among Dutch consumers there is considerable—be it often skeptical—awareness of the link between meat consumption and climate change (de Boer, Schösler, & Boersema, 2011). Simultaneously, convenience products that are aimed at substituting meat have started to appear in supermarkets, and vegetarian options have become commonplace in most restaurants. Very gradually, people on average may start to consume less meat. In the Netherlands the consumption has decreased by 1.4 % in the year 2011¹ and we see a similar trend in the US.² However, from a long-term perspective, the amount of meat consumption per capita has more than doubled in the Netherlands in the last 50 years: from about 20 kilos annually at the end of the 1950s to more than 43 kilos today (PBL, 2010). Because similar patterns are observed in most Western countries, Weis (2007) speaks of the *meatification* of the global food economy.

When aspiring to influence meat consumption patterns, meat should not be considered in isolation, as all foods derive their cultural meaning in relation to the other foods within the system of meaning they belong to

¹ Preliminary data on meat consumption 2011. PVV (2012):

www.pve.nl/wdocs/dbedrijfsnet/up1/ZwqhgugplsC_Definitieve_versie_roodvlees.pdf (in Dutch).

² The US Department of Agriculture (USDA) projects that the US meat and poultry consumption will fall this year to about 12.2 percent less than it was in 2007. See the projections of the USDA: <http://www.usda.gov/oce/commodity/wasde/latest.pdf>.

(Montanari, 2006). Meat consumption is therefore an *integral* part of larger food consumption patterns, both individually and culturally. These patterns have often been shaped over centuries, in complex interaction with social conventions, individual habits, and normative values and frameworks (Fischler, 1988). Simultaneously, the current norm in which meat is the centerpiece of the main course of the day—the meatification of the Western diet—is a practice that only came into being in the sixties and seventies of last century. This also shows that cultural practices *can* change within a relatively short time horizon. In both cases, people’s practices, values, and beliefs regarding food consumption have to be considered in the context of their specific cultural setting. As research regarding cultural diversity has shown, cultural patterns are persistent and influential. For example, while food patterns within the European Union have converged considerably over the past 40 years (Schmidhuber & Traill, 2006), countries still vary a great deal regarding how much and what kind of meat is consumed and how people satisfy their protein needs (de Boer, Helms, & Aiking, 2006). This underlines the important influence of culture as a determinant of individual behaviour and it also illustrates that a better understanding of a particular food culture is beneficial, if one aspires to stimulate changes in food consumption patterns. The entire system of food production, distribution, and consumption can be understood as a project of collective national identity (DeSoucey, 2010).

The cultural embeddedness of consumption patterns and the habitual character of many food-related tasks also implies that changing food consumption behavior is notoriously difficult (Larson & Story, 2009). It is therefore necessary to understand food consumption within a broad cultural frame that informs people’s daily practices, values, and beliefs (Bakker & Dagevos, 2010; Fischler, 1988). Based on a social-cultural understanding, pathways towards a more sustainable and generally plant-centered diet may be discovered and developed. Exploring innovative food practices and movements that already pioneer and embody more sustainable diets seems specifically opportune in this context, as insights can be derived about the emerging value-

orientations and driving motivations associated with them. This study therefore aims to facilitate the transition towards more sustainable food consumption patterns in society, by giving insight into the emergence of two (more) sustainable food movements, referred to as the 'gourmets' and the 'organics'. The insights we derive from this analysis are then translated to the policy making process. We conclude that gourmet and organic consumers represent two significant food cultural movements that expose different, and to some extent diverging, value-orientations, that, in fact, share a common vision with regards to the desirability of a different and more sustainable food system. This report aims to show that efforts to substantiate the transition towards more sustainable food consumption patterns should focus on the convergence of these value-orientations while taking into account important insights regarding the communication of social change, as well as address certain (cultural) barriers through practical policy-measures.

2 Method/justification

In this study we build forth on two extensive, qualitative explorations of both the organic and the gourmet food cultures in the Netherlands. The first exploration of cultural values associated with more sustainable food patterns led us to consider what we call "reflective eaters" or "organics." The study (Schösler, De Boer, & Boersema, forthcoming-a) comprised of a literature survey discussing the historical emergence of the organic movement in the West, and an interview study with contemporary consumers who were recruited in various organic shops in the Netherlands. The second study addressed the philosophy of what we call "taste-oriented eaters" or "gourmets." Analogous to the first study, qualitative interviews were carried out among members of the Dutch Slow Food organization and a gourmet-cooking club (Schösler, De Boer, & Boersema, forthcoming-b). On the basis of a literature study, a concise cultural-historical background was provided of the Slow Food movement and its underlying cultural themes. The research questions for both of these studies were formulated as follows: What insights can we derive from the practices of these

consumers about their values and motives? What are the cultural potentials and barriers for a transition towards more sustainable food patterns?

The present study takes the value-orientations found in these studies as a starting point. After summarizing the most essential insights in section 3, the relevance of these food cultures and practices for the transition to more sustainable food consumption patterns in society is discussed in section 4. In section 5 we address the translation of the outcomes to the policy making process. In section 5.1, we first reflect on the appropriate combination of policy tools for facilitating a desired social change (in this case, the transition towards a more sustainable and generally plant-based diet). Drawing on the value-orientations identified above, we discuss in section 5.2 how communication strategies can be used to *elevate and maintain the motivation to change* certain behaviors, using literature mainly from the field of communication of environmental and sustainability issues. In section 5.3, we elaborate on six major barriers to behavioral changes in the direction of more sustainable food consumption patterns (as associated with, and derived from, the six value-orientations) and we provide practical policy-advice for how to contribute to *lowering these barriers*. We conclude with a brief discussion of our findings in section 6.

3 Portrait of the organic and gourmet food cultures

In this section we discuss the organic and the gourmet food culture and philosophy in the context of sociological theories that explain, contextualize, and support the interview-results as derived from two earlier studies (see also: Schösler, et al., forthcoming-a; Schösler, et al., forthcoming-b).

3.1 The rehabilitation of nature: The organic food culture and philosophy

Several sociologists and researchers have observed an increasing interest in and appreciation for nature in Western societies (see e.g. Campbell, 2007; Castells, 2009; Gibson, 2009; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; B. Taylor, 2010; Van den Born, 2008; Van den Born, Lenders, De Groot, & Huijsman, 2001). For example, the

British sociologist Colin Campbell speaks of the *rehabilitation of nature* (2007), referring to large-scale changes in the worldviews of Western societies, in which more utilitarian and functional perspectives on nature are gradually replaced by a tendency to view nature as something that is intrinsically valuable and meaningful, and for many even spiritual and sacred. Interestingly, this appreciation seems to concern nature in its most encompassing sense. That is to say, nature not only as the world external to humanity, but also including the (natural) human being and body; thus encompassing both “nature without,” as is evident in the growing care towards other life and the environment, and “nature within,” as comes to expression in the contemporary focus on self-expression, holistic health and wellness, personal growth and spirituality (Campbell, 2007; Gibson, 2009; Hedlund-de Witt, 2011; Heelas & Woodhead, 2005; Houtman & Aupers, 2007; Houtman & Mascini, 2002; Partridge, 2005; Ray & Anderson, 2000; Tarnas, 2007; B. Taylor, 2010). The central motive of this rehabilitation of nature converges with, among others, the rise of the Animal Rights movement, a growing vegetarianism under the population, and an increasing consumption of ‘whole’ and organic foods, thereby pioneering and facilitating the emergence of more sustainable food cultures and practices in contemporary society.

The interview study that we build on here, identified three major value-orientations that seem to fit this theoretical framework. The first value-orientation that emerged from the interviews was *purity*. On the one hand, purity was associated with particular kinds of food and food preparations; but it was also associated with purity of the human body and one’s personal conduct. Participants categorized their foods in terms of whether or not they were “natural,” pure,” “basic,” “simple,” “original” or “whole” (see table 1 for more detail). They explained that they associated these labels with the preservation of the “essence” of food and they used certain strategies to preserve this intrinsic quality or essence—such as the preparation of simple meals with few ingredients and the use of raw, unprocessed, and organic foods.

Pure Foods	Impure Foods
Pure, wholesome, natural Truly nourishing; 'real food' Healthy, unsprayed No additives Fresh Local, preferably straight from the farmer Good for the environment Connected: in sync with the rest of nature In season, naturally abundant Simple, plain, basic Understandable, visible Archetypal, just as nature made it	Adulterated, artificial Empty calories; feed Polluted, sprayed Artificial colorings, flavorings, E-numbers Canned, processed Travelled over long distances Burden to the environment Estranged; out of sync with nature Out of season, out of context Complex, complicated Unknowable, unrecognizable Designed, formed

Table 1: The organics' categorizations of pure versus impure foods

Purity was not only applied to food but also to the human body, where it was associated with temperance, frugality, and health. Participants signaled their disapproval of the affluent culture of overconsumption, waste, and excess, and their practice of temperance helped them to feel empowered to renounce this dominant culture. They also felt that it expressed their profound respect for food, the earth that provided it, and the farmer that grew it. To them, temperance represented a shift away from more superficial desires and wants (often stimulated or enhanced by commercial parties and their communications) towards fulfilling their basic, natural needs. The right way of eating was associated with finding and maintaining an intuitive balance, which required awareness and connectedness (see below). This theme fits in an overall trend towards living a more meaningful life in which ethical principles are considered important (Campbell, 2007; Hamilton, Waddington, Gregory, & Walker, 1995). These are some quotations from the interviews that illustrate purity and how it translates in a preference for more sustainably produced food:

"When I talk about unsprayed and organic, I mean something more archetypal, more natural. I feel that we are pushed into more and more artificial circumstances in our society. We're on the wrong track. I think these values that I talked about, just now, awareness, understanding what you need."

"I rarely buy instant stuff. If I prepare a sauce, I simply start from scratch – that's more pure. As soon as I lose myself in all kinds of ingredients that I don't understand, the more processed things are, the further estranged from the original product, the less attractive I find them to be."

"I like to serve all ingredients of a meal separately, so they are visible. You see what you eat, nothing's hidden, no ornaments or additions that have nothing to do with the original product."

"... tasting is important, I mean, a fish we eat used to be an animal. You don't just wolf it down. You have to have some respect for it. That's the kind of temperance we search for."

"To eat organic reflects also my conscious choice to consume less, but better quality. It's expensive and that's why I don't eat meat 2 days a week. At the end of the week, I've spent the same."

"It feels best to me to just use what I need. All this excess and overkill that is the norm now, doesn't appeal to me. I find it's a sign of no respect to throw out food."

Another value emerging from the interviews was *awareness*, or *mindfulness* (see also: Brown & Ryan, 2003; Langer & Moldoveanu, 2000), which characterizes a state of mind particularly geared towards allowing all (sensual) experiences that the human body and being is capable of. Participants' experiences could best be described as a sense of attunement and alignment with their inner and outer environments. Awareness appeared to be a crucial factor in participants' experience of food and food quality. They frequently described how the many pleasures of food—such as its taste, a moment of tranquility in a hasty life, associated pleasant memories, and connectedness with other people—opened them up to awareness of the entire experience of the moment. Interestingly, participants often emphasized how attuning themselves to the sensual aspects of their experience in the moment (e.g. the taste of food, feeling the sun on one's skin, being aware of their environment), tended to bring them in a different state of mind, which was often described as more peaceful, aware and happy. According to Langer and Moldoveanu (2000), awareness is also

associated with higher levels of empathy and a deeper engagement with the consequences of one's action, both important values to motivate more sustainable behavior (Crompton, 2011). This awareness also helps people to see the wider implications of food choices for society and the environment (Miele & Evans, 2010).

"I feel happy when I cook, when I have the time to do that. It's not only about food, though, it's more about what happens here around me. When I have the sun here in the evening, I'm outside, the tranquility, sitting here at the table and simply eating something tasty, that's what makes me happy. To me it's the ultimate pleasure, to find the quiet and time to have awareness for that."

"It has a lot to do with attention and love. I try to really make contact, also with food."

"It's got to do with being deeply engaged with your personal environment, what happens around you."

"I adjust what I eat to my constitution. You judge that by sensing what food does to you. So, if you take the energy of food, if you feel that something warms you up, you get a warm tummy or warm hands for example."

Thirdly, the value of *connectedness with nature* emerged from the interviews. Some participants had spiritual associations of being one with nature and the cosmos (A. Hedlund-de Witt, forthcoming), while others adhered to more secular interpretations, highlighting the importance of care and responsibility for nature (see also: Dryzek, 2005). In both cases, the feeling of connection causes people to unify their personal health, well-being, and flourishing, with that of the environment. Participants assumed and experienced their own well-being to directly depend on and be intimately related with a healthy, flourishing environment. They felt that the natural rhythms of nature, particularly reflected in the seasons, were connected to the rhythm and changeability of their own lives. Nature was envisioned as a mutually sustaining web of life that people, all other living creatures, and the natural environment are a part of. Various studies have shown that people who feel connected with nature, also feel responsibility and care for other creatures and the natural environment (Ryan, Huta, & Deci,

2008; Weinstein, Przybylski, & Ryan, 2009). A link with pro-environmental behavior has also been established (Nisbet, Zelenski, & Murphy, 2009; Schultz, 2001; Mayer & McPherson Frantz, 2004).

"Your food should be seasonal. You try to eat food that belongs with the climate you live in. The philosophy is that you're one with the cosmos, with the environment."

"To me it's important that vegetables are farmed with care that it has travelled as little as possible. That it comes from a familiar environment."

"I like to use seasonal foods, because I have different needs throughout the year and then I like to eat differently, too."

"I don't like the fact that animals are seen as products. I think you have to treat animals differently from a bag of cookies."

"We do eat meat, but not regularly. And if we do, it's always organic. What I find really important is the care for the animal."

3.2 The craft consumer: The gourmet food culture and philosophy

The philosophy of gourmets can be well-understood using Campbell's (2005) theory of the craft consumer. Campbell describes a trend of people wanting to create and produce things again in an artisan way—aspiring to express themselves in meaningful and unique ways and thereby trying to escape the alienating influence of progressive commodification and marketization that is so characteristic of contemporary culture (ibid). By developing skill, knowledge, judgment, and passion for a craft—in this case their food practices—these individuals create something that is of unique meaning to them, and that feels authentic and expressive (Campbell, 2005; Miele & Evans, 2010; Sennet, 2008). Craft consumption focuses on the rediscovery of the intrinsic quality, meaning, and beauty of the goods that people surround themselves with. The food philosophy as demonstrated in the interviews with the 'gourmets' shows that the craft character of food practices in daily life can be a source of pleasure and satisfaction for people, that leads to a more meaningful engagement with food. While a highly industrialized food system has taken over many food-related

tasks from people, it seems there is a renewed appreciation for food and cooking as a craft that is also interesting from a sustainability perspective (Miele & Evans, 2010).

The interview study identified three major value-orientations, which appeared to fit remarkably well with this overarching, theoretical framework. First of all, the gourmets emphasized the *pleasure of taste*. These participants ate first and foremost to enjoy and indulge in stimulating taste experiences. Participants frequently expressed themselves in lyrical terms about the different aromas, textures, feel, and looks of food, which infatuate all their senses. According to participants' descriptions, the taste reflected the authenticity and uniqueness of a particular food, and the overall care with which it was produced. Pleasure of taste was therefore often associated with artisan, preferably small-scale, production. Participants felt that the pleasure of taste related to various qualities such as the circumstances of food production and the 'spirit' in which this production had taken place. The wellbeing of the animal and careful slaughter, for example, were considered to contribute directly to the taste of the meat and the pleasure with which it could be consumed. This theme was also associated with enjoying a great variety of foods and the ability to detect a wide scale of different flavours in foods. Participants argued that some cultivation and skill was involved to recognize good quality and taste, and the ability to value this tended to be perceived as a sign of a certain sophistication. Some citations illustrate these points below, although they miss the enthusiastic voices, facial expressions, and gestures that best expressed participants' pleasure associated with food and eating:

"Wonderful! The smell and the taste of fresh mushrooms, that really cheers me up! In fact, every meal that we prepare from fresh vegetables – beautiful green beans, for example. And when the onions are in the pan for one minute, my husband already raves about the lovely smell throughout the house. We enjoy this so much."

"I'm very oriented towards European food. I like the combination of very simple earthy things with a twist. I guess you could call me a conservative eater. I love the folk kitchens of Europe."

"I choose food based on its taste. If it's not a tasty piece of meat then I don't need it. We're lucky with a butcher who gets his animals from local farmers."

"We go for top quality, but then simply less. We don't spend more because we simply eat less."

"I've always been quite adventurous and always interested in taste. Jellyfish, rats, bats, dogs— I'm curious, I want to try it. I think insects are extremely exciting, I would definitely try them when I get the opportunity."

The second value-orientation that was prominent in the interviews could best be described as *food competence*. This concept refers to the valuation of various competences that people acquired over time, in order to satisfy their demands on taste and quality, such as the ability to handle food carefully, to prepare a meal, and to recognize fresh and high quality foods. The event of preparing and cooking a meal could be compared with the careful composition of a work of art. This does not mean that people would necessarily take hours to prepare every meal, but they would consider the various aspects involved—which all have an aesthetic dimension: the selection of ingredients, the composition and preparation of the meal, and the pleasant presentation, and finally consumption, of the foods.

Furthermore, food competence implied an *autonomous* attitude towards food, and participants tended to feel empowered and satisfied with their food choices. Their competence also enabled them to be creative with food and experiment with new ingredients and meal formats. They would for example venture to try out vegetarian cooking, prepare uncommon cuts of meat, or more exotic foods, and 'forgotten vegetables.' Also, the use of leftovers

and cooking with seasonal ingredients were a means to practice their creative capacities and skills in the kitchen.

"I find cooking is something aesthetic, just like the presentation of food. When I cook, I watch what colors the food has. The colors should match and the presentation is part of that and also how the table has been set. I like beautiful things and that applies to many things – also to food."

"I rarely go to regular supermarkets. The food is not tasty, it's kind of flat and simply has very little or poor taste. The goods are often older, you can taste that and often you see it, particularly with vegetables. There's nobody with knowledge of the goods."

"With food I can be creative. I just love that."

"The best is when I have left-overs. Creativity comes in when you're limited in your options."

"I enjoy cooking vegetarian, because it's much more challenging."

"If you decide not to eat meat, you can really use your creativity."

The third value-orientation present in the interviews was coined *social relatedness*. Participants considered their food choices within a larger context of social relations with other people. Overall, the cultural aspect of food was prominent and it was a means for participants to relate with others, their local community, and their region. Therefore, this theme also explained the importance that was attached to local production and the valuation that people had for specialty shops. Food had to be connected to people: producers and retailers alike. They wanted to buy food that did not have the anonymity and standardization of a supermarket product. The study also found a great affinity among the gourmets for ethnic food shops in the Netherlands, as an alternative to supermarkets. Participants valued the personal character of these shops and the generally more artisan food culture: according to them, these shops tended to have a more diverse offer of foods, vegetables are often sold in bulk thereby reflecting seasonal abundances, and larger chunks of meat are usually cut on request of the customer. Smaller retailers were felt to be an important counterweight to commodification of food through supermarkets and large processing

and manufacture units. Participants were happy to give support to their local retailers and they were aware of the community values and the meaning of smaller shops to the quality of their immediate living environment and their social relations.

"Supermarkets offer extremely limited choice. On top of that: support your local retailer! To me it's really important to sponsor the middle-class. If I don't do it and nobody else does it, the small shopkeeper is gone and we all have to go to Ahold. That's my nightmare, I don't want that."

"I can discuss with the producer what he's offering, where it comes from and how it's been made. Whether it's in season or whether he imported it."

"Consider the kilo bargains from the supermarket! You can't buy kilos of meat for 3 euro. You simply can't breed a pig for that price. And it doesn't taste good. It's necessary to know where the meat comes from and how the animal has lived – then I enjoy the meat. You can enjoy the fact that the animal had a good life, was butchered well, without stress. You can taste all that."

4 The organic and gourmet food cultures and their relevance to sustainability

The two philosophies described above show interesting similarities and differences. While the organics seemed to develop their care for food mainly based on their personal and moral values, the gourmets appeared to care about food primarily based on their pleasure and enjoyment of all food-related activities. For a brief overview we contrast the two groups and associated value-orientations in table 2.

The organic and gourmet food cultures and their associated practices and values demonstrate the cultural potential of associating new meanings with more sustainable food choices. Both groups also exhibit practices that pioneer and facilitate a more sustainable food culture in larger society (see also: Carlsson-Kanyama & González, 2009; Thøgersen, 2010). Notably, the consumption of organic, local, and seasonal foods, the moderate consumption

of meat, and what we call ‘a new culture of eating’ are interesting examples. We now discuss these practices in more detail.

Reflective eaters, or ‘organics’	Taste-oriented eaters, or ‘gourmets’
<p><i>Purity</i></p> <p>Purity in both a moral and physical sense You are what you eat Pure, honest, whole foods Temperance, respect, and gratitude Distancing oneself from boundlessness and overconsumption Ethical and value-driven food choices</p>	<p><i>Pleasure of taste</i></p> <p>Pleasure, enjoyment, indulgence Stimulating all senses Flavor, color, smell, taste, touch Authenticity, originality Appreciation of quality Variety Specialty</p>
<p><i>Awareness</i></p> <p>Sensual awareness Mindfulness, contemplation Sensitivity towards one’s emotions Being in the moment, eating with full attention Peace of mind, relaxation Making contact with food Balance</p>	<p><i>Food competence</i></p> <p>Knowledge of food and food culture Food skills including ingredient selection, preparation, composition, presentation Creativity and experimentation; preparation from scratch Aesthetic conscience Autonomy and self-reliance</p>
<p><i>Connected with nature</i></p> <p>Feeling one with nature and living with nature Animals as fellow creatures Care for nature and the environment In alignment with the rhythms of nature Vitality, holistic health, and wellbeing Food that makes you feel good and healthy Connection with farmers and the land</p>	<p><i>Social relatedness</i></p> <p>Feeling part of one’s food culture Valuing cultural diversity A sense of belonging and place Personal approach Origin and production history Supporting your local retailer and economy</p>

Table 2: A comparison of the predominant value-orientations of ‘organics’ and ‘gourmets’

4.1 Consumption of organic, local, and seasonal food

The organics expressed a strong need to do what feels *natural* to them, which led them to act responsibly, especially on behalf of nature and animals. They were mainly focused on organic production and guarantee for animal welfare. According to the principle of organic food, 'healthy soil, healthy plants, healthy people' (Codex Alimentarius, 1999), 'connectedness with nature' also had implications for their own health and vitality. Only foods produced according to this holistic, caring, and natural approach were considered pure, truly healthful, and nutritious and thus able to provide overall wellbeing, health and vitality. Overall, the organics appeared to be less passionate about cooking, and the pleasure of taste was occasionally sacrificed for a more socially or environmentally responsible choice. Gourmets were in principle not ready to do so, and in fact this attitude of the organics was exactly what fostered the gourmets' prejudices about organic food: they tended to consider the organic philosophy with skepticism because to them it was associated with moral commitments and an ascetic lifestyle that endorses frugality and abstinence, rather than with an aspiration for the best tasting food. The organics confirmed to these associations with their idealization of "simple", "basic", and "plain" foods.

Moreover, organics did not just rely on the organic label. They sometimes explained to be struggling with the fact that the organic sector might sacrifice some of their original values for the sake of growth and globalization of supply chains. The critical and idealistic approach of this pioneer group illustrates their indirect yet powerful influence on the greening of the mainstream food industry. In fact, the organic movement stimulated the development of environmentally relevant certification and labeling systems, which continues to exert pressure on producers to raise sustainability standards of their production and supply chains (de Boer, 2003; Lewis, et al., 2010). Labeling efforts have also served to create a segment between conventional and organic standards, which makes the purchase of more responsible products

better accessible (and more affordable) to a larger group of consumers (C. Morris & Winter, 1999).³

Gourmets were very keen about the use of local foods. These often had the artisan character they searched for, were associated with a local food culture, and introduced variety into the standardized product offer of supermarkets. Overall, gourmets showed a profound commitment to more local, seasonal, artisan, and generally unprocessed foods, thereby contributing to sustainability-goals in several different ways. Local and seasonal produce are, from an environmental perspective, highly preferred, because they are much less energy-intensive as distribution, transportation, and storage demand great amounts of energy.

Seasonal foods were attractive to both groups for different reasons. To organics it represented connectedness to nature (see section 3) and to the gourmets it was associated with freshness, superior taste, variety, and the connection to local producers.

4.2 Reduction and substitution of meat consumption

For most organics, meat reduction or even vegetarianism turned out to be the natural and logical consequence of their value-orientations. They viewed animals as sentient fellow creatures that feel suffering and pain, and they experienced an emotional bond with them. Especially the industrial and animal-unfriendly production of conventional meat was unacceptable to them and they would often refrain from eating meat. Some organics stated to eat meat infrequently (e.g. only one or a few days a week) and were committed to

³ For example, the Netherlands have witnessed the introduction of a successful label that appeals to ethical motives of consumers, introduced by Albert Heijn, one of the country's biggest and most influential supermarket-chains. The label is called 'Puur en eerlijk' ("*pure and honest*") and it functions as an umbrella for organic, fair trade, and other more responsibly produced food and non-food items. This label demonstrates the salience of appealing to ethical motives that a core group in society holds, thereby increasing the number of people that can make more responsible choices with little effort on their part.

organic meat, which is produced in a more environment- and animal friendly manner. With regards to the gourmets, motivations for moderate consumption of meat are more complex. While their emphasis on high quality meat, artisan products, and the creativity of vegetarian cooking often motivates them (indirectly) to consume less meat, their attitude towards a pronounced reduction of meat consumption is ambivalent. This is mainly due to the tremendous cultural importance of meat in Western, and particularly Northern European, food cultures. In general, gourmets appear to be 'meat-lovers'. None of the participants failed to point out the importance of meat within Dutch food culture, as well as its importance for achieving a sense of satisfaction and completeness of a meal, hereby voicing the attitude of a majority of Dutch consumers (de Boer, Boersema, & Aiking, 2009). However, a desire for high quality meat motivated participants to buy from (frequently quality-oriented) butchers rather than from (generally low-cost-oriented) supermarkets or grocery stores, to choose smaller portions, and to remain abstinent if a quality product was not available or affordable. The interviews illustrated how through the intermediary goal of optimal quality participants indirectly accepted moderation.

Also with regards to meat substitutes the two groups differed. The organics used meat substitutes regularly, while the gourmets, mainly due to the generally processed and convenience-oriented nature of these products, discarded them on aesthetic grounds. Because of their focus on taste, authentic to a particular cultural context and region, they also tended to be hostile towards processed and 'artificially created' products—even more so with regards to meat as it has great cultural importance. The entire idea of meat *substitution* did not resonate with these individuals, because to them it implied a somewhat industrial 'search-and-replace' approach. According to them, food should be enjoyed because it is pleasurable, tasty, and attractive to one's aesthetic senses: food was considered an end in itself. A meat substitute, however, was considered a functional food aiming to replace meat, and this clashed with their philosophy. In contrast, the organic consumers were relatively

open towards meat substitutes. Many participants were regular users of substitutes and they were appealing to them, because they were perceived as a convenient way to act according to their animal welfare and environmental protection principles.

4.3 A new culture of eating

Under this heading we discuss a number of practices that can be considered indicators of a new culture of eating among organics and gourmets. Both groups liked to prepare vegetarian food. Gourmets were compelled by the creative challenge, the craft, and the experimental aspect involved in vegetarian cooking and the preparation of seasonal or locally grown vegetables. The trend towards “forgotten vegetables,” which has recaptured farmer’s markets and quality restaurants in the Netherlands, is illustrative of this new valuation of vegetables. This is a manifestation of the idea that not only meat can be the centerpiece of a meal, as it is according to current conventions, but also a skillfully prepared vegetable. Gourmets did not frame vegetarian cooking as the substitution of meat—to them it was rather the recognition and discovery of the rich variety of tastes and vegetarian dishes. Vegetarian cooking is therefore linked to the integration of new foods and more exotic food styles (Vogel, 2010) as other food cultures tend to feature a more extensive collection of vegetarian dishes. The organics were often fond of Asian and particularly Indian cuisine because they identified with the ethical principles of non-violence towards animals underlying a Buddhist vegetarian diet. Hereby, they would also integrate meat substitutes such as tofu and seitan. As far as exotic and new foods go, gourmets could get excited about trying out unfamiliar foods such as insects. It stimulated their sense of adventure and various participants had experience eating exotic foods such as insects, dogs, rats, or jellyfish. In contrast, organics were more inclined to, for example, algae, lentils or mushrooms as natural sources of plant protein.

Participants of both orientations tried to relate to food in more meaningful ways, thereby reviving values such as respect and gratitude for food. The gourmets illustrated that a more respectful attitude towards food also

comes to expression in the use of leftovers from previous dishes, which fuelled their creativity to cook with whatever was at hand. They would also be inspired by whatever ingredients were available in their fridges and thereby avoid food waste as much as possible. A respectful use of food also led gourmets to the conviction that the entire animal should be used as food, and that it does not make sense to consume only the most luxurious piece, as has become common practice with regards to many farmed animals nowadays. Some gourmets explained to prepare uncommon cuts of meat, so that nothing would have to go to waste. The use of leftovers and the practice of restricting oneself to seasonal or local availabilities, as well as the preference for plainer and less processed foods could all be associated with an attitude of *voluntary simplicity* (Elgin & Mitchell, 1977). Gourmets felt that their creativity and craft was boosted by a narrower choice of foods (i.e. seasonal and local constraints, vegetarian meals), while to organics simplicity was associated with pure, raw, and plain foods, just like nature has it, which also entailed the acceptance of local and seasonal constraints on the availability of particular foods. A diet based on season and location may result in more diverse and sustainable food production, which in turn contributes to agro-biodiversity at the local level (Lotti, 2010).

Part of the new culture of eating are the different ways in which connections within the food system are re-established. Organics emphasize that connectedness with nature inspires the closing of natural cycles and their sense of holism of nature, body, and mind. Gourmets emphasize social relatedness and a sense of place, which motivates them to strengthen personal ties with other 'foodies', local producers, and/or retailers of small or medium enterprises. The groups' different senses of connectedness (or relatedness) highlight the impact of food choices on the quality of the local environment, economy, and agriculture, and it calls attention to the multiple social relations that consumers enter into when buying food. Closer ties between producers and consumers are expected to have positive spin-offs for sustainability, because transparency within food chains is likely to increase (Stagl, 2002). In turn, this enables consumers to learn about sustainability aspects of their choices (ibid).

5. Implications for communication strategies and policy-making

In this section the emerging value-profiles are translated to the communication- and policy-making processes in industry and government. In 5.1 a general overview is presented of how social change—in this case the desired shift to more sustainable diets in the population—can potentially be facilitated through communication- and policy- strategies. In 5.2 we explore how the wide range of values associated with more sustainable food consumption patterns (as derived from the interviews with organics and gourmets) can be used for the communication of products, practices, and policies in service of a more sustainable food system, thereby generating and maintaining the motivations for social and behavioral change in the larger population. In 5.3 we address the potential (cultural) barriers to such change, by providing practical policy-advice as how to address these barriers.

5.1 Facilitating social change through communication- and policy-strategies

In order to influence intimate and profoundly culturally embedded behaviors such as people's food consumption patterns, policy-instruments like regulations and, to a lesser extent, economic incentives, are in themselves often considered inappropriate or ineffective. A survey of the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, for example, found that the price of meat would have to increase by about 40% in order to heavily discourage consumers to purchase it (PBL, 2007). While increasing prices certainly makes sense (van Drunen, Van Beukering, & Aiking, 2010) it may in itself not be enough to bring about substantial behavioral change. Therefore, complementary policy-tools are needed, such as communication instruments and public education programs (Dietz & Stern, 2002; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 2008).

These instruments attempt to foster behavioral change on a voluntary basis—that is, without imposing (explicit) sanctions on those who do not comply and without providing financial rewards for those who do. Instead, they try to influence other personal and social attributes of behaviors, such as (lack of) knowledge on the benefits of changing behavior, misguided attitudes towards

the desired behavior, or normative perceptions of how ‘others’ are behaving (Stern, 2002). However, these instruments have also been criticized for their lack of effectiveness in transforming a raised awareness into durable and sustained behavioral changes, (Lindén, Carlsson-Kanyama, & Eriksson, 2006; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 2008; Schultz, 2002). Several authors argue that many current communication strategies around environmental issues are problematic, notably strategies that aim at increasing the sense of urgency through fear, guilt, or shame appeals, as well as those that display a tendency to be overly technical, dry, or scientific (see e.g. Futerra, 2005; Leiserowitz, 2007; Moser, 2007; Moser & Dilling, 2007). Moser and Dilling (2007) therefore argue for an approach that is based on a profound understanding of the “audience,” and is developed in dialogue with, and active participation of, that audience, reminding us that communication is etymologically rooted in the same Latin word as *communion*, which points to meanings of participation, sharing, imparting, and making common of meaning.

Moreover, many documented failures of public environmental information programs are attributed to the fact that these programs were single-dimensional, in the sense that they did not address significant non-informational barriers to behavioral change, such as infrastructural, financial, cultural, or institutional barriers (Stern, 2002). As also Dilling and Moser (2007) argue, better information dissemination, more knowledge, or more effective communication alone will not necessarily lead to desirable social changes. As they claim, based on a review of numerous studies, “for communication to be effective, i.e., to facilitate a desired social change, it must accomplish two things: sufficiently *elevate and maintain the motivation* to change a practice or policy, and at the same time contribute to *lowering the barriers* to do so” (2007, p. 494). To give an example: a communication campaign may motivate certain individuals to change their diets in a more sustainable direction, but without the availability of sustainable alternatives, or the capacity and skills to cook in a different way, such motivation will likely not be translated into an actual behavior change. In the words of McKenzie-Mohr and Smith (2008, p. 5), the

function of a social marketing program, or any other (policy) attempt to influence behaviors, “is to change the ratio of benefits and barriers so that the target behavior becomes more attractive.” Thus, for most complex behaviors—such as food consumption—multifaceted approaches are needed that not only communicate in effective ways to generate the motivation for behavioral change, but they also need to address the different barriers to that behavioral change.

5.2 Communicating sustainable food: Appealing to a plurality of positive values

Studying the organic and gourmet food cultures, we learn that these individuals are driven by *positive* values (rather than by ideas or future visions that instill fear, guilt, hopelessness, and/or anger), as well as by *a wide range* of values: from quality and pleasure, local economy and social relations, health and vitality, to environmental concerns and an appreciation for nature. The interview-data thus show that there is a *plurality of positive values* that are conducive to more sustainable food choices and practices (see table 2).

According to Futerra’s communication principles (based on a literature review, see Futerra, 2005), any effective communication for social change should consist of *four essential steps*. The first is to “sell” a compelling *vision*. That is, communications about sustainable development need to be associated with the positive aspirations and values of the target audience, just as any form of traditional marketing does. Communicators need to open any communication “with the promise of heaven” (Futerra, 2009, p. 4). The second step is to show that there is *choice*. The illustrated paradise will not come about automatically, but will be a matter of conscious choice and of decisions that are to be taken now. The picture of what will happen if we do not make these choices needs to be portrayed in a personal and direct way. The third step is to show a concrete, and economically viable *plan*, consisting of a few headlines that are easy to remember. The fourth and last step is *action*: giving everyone something to do, in a way that is directly linked to the vision, and clarifies to each individual

“what’s in it for them” (Futerra, 2009).⁴ Here, we will specifically focus on the first step. In the words of Futerra (2009, p. 4):

In just one sentence you can describe a desirable and descriptive mental picture of [a sustainable food system]. This captures the imagination and taps into those starved and withered emotions: hope, a sense of progress and excitement about tomorrow. The vision also wins us the right to hold people’s attention long enough to get to the call for action. A major problem with most [environmental] messages isn’t that people disagree with them, it’s that they don’t even listen to them. Many [environmental] messages are dull and depressing and audiences have an inbuilt veto: the veto of their attention.

Also according to other researchers, communicators need to tap into culturally resonant, positive, empowering values and personal aspirations, and “envision a future worth fighting for” as well as avoid the potential dangers of communication strategies that instill fear, guilt, hopelessness, apathy, or denial (Lappé, 2011; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 2008; Moser, 2007; Moser & Dilling, 2007). There is thus a great need to *envision* a sustainable food system in a concrete and preferably visual manner. The interview-data provide us with material to do this, as the organics and gourmets seem to adhere to a shared societal vision of a different system of food-production and consumption, based on organic and/or more small-scale, local, seasonal, or even artisan food production, in which there is much attention for animal welfare and

⁴ In our case this could mean: 1) developing an inspiring and compelling *vision* of a sustainable food system that appeals to a plurality of values; 2) portraying the negative side-effects of the current food system, and emphasizing the *choice* individuals have; 3) outlining a concrete and easy-to-remember *plan* in headlines (e.g. empower urban agriculture; support the production and consumption of organic, local, and seasonal food; provide citizens with free vegetarian cooking courses); and 4) inspire people to get into *action*, by showing how their personal contribution brings us closer to the vision, and is beneficial for themselves as well (“Enhance your personal skills and relationships by starting a vegetarian cooking night with friends, neighbors, or family!” “Buy local, organic, and seasonal produce to improve your own health and enjoy real, fresh food again!”).

environmental well-being. It is also a vision of flourishing local economies and family values, as well as strong ties between producers and consumers. The food is high quality, pure, and natural, and therefore nutritional, healthy, and vitalizing. Lastly, it is a vision of a new culture of eating: of *mindful* consumption with appreciation for the quality, origin, context, and moral aspects of food. We argue that, precisely because this societal vision incorporates such a broad range of values, it can be used to appeal to a much broader public than the still relatively small (yet growing) movements of organics and gourmets, and market sustainable food products, choices, and lifestyles in an effective and inspiring way.

The challenge is to translate what might seem as ‘utopian’ ideas into local and concrete visions of what individuals’ living environments would look like, if real transitions were to take place. There is surprisingly little imagery of, for example, a city with a holistic, systemically integrated food strategy—a city where urban gardens are ever-present and have become a viable alternative to purchase fresh, healthy, and sustainably produced food; where students earn study points by taking care of their school gardens and preparing food in their school kitchens; where local economies flourish, and citizens have healthy diets and are connected to the origin of their food. The same goes for imagery of innovative products: an appealing image of the lupine flower or seaweeds may enhance a consumer’s valuation of a meat substitute derived from these plants. Such imagery could be a powerful means to get a message across, as it tends to appeal to people’s emotions, affect, and subconscious responses. This is especially important as researchers conclude that emotions play a powerful role in decision-making, and overall communication processes (Leiserowitz, 2007; Moser, 2007). However, visions, as we refer to them here, need not always be real images. They can be conjured up in people’s minds by activating different frames (see also: de Boer & Aiking, 2009). For example, consider the following

ways of framing the notion of meat-reduction: “vegetable gastronomy,”⁵ “healthy alternative,” “exotic option,” “high quality,” “creative challenge,” “hip new food innovation,” “supporting your local economy,” “in tune with nature” et cetera.

5.3 Lowering the barriers to sustainable food consumption: Policy-advice

For communication and policy-strategies to be effective, next to generating and sustaining sufficient motivation for more sustainable food consumption patterns in society, also the potential barriers to such changes in diet need to be considered, and as much as possible, addressed. The following barriers were derived from the six major value-orientations, and we aim to offer practical policy-advice for how to address these.

Alienation from nature

In the context of making more sustainable food choices, *connectedness with nature* appeared to be important, as notably the interviews with the organic consumers show. In our industrialized, highly technological, and urbanized society, a significant barrier to making more sustainable food choices is therefore potentially the widespread *alienation from nature* (see e.g. De Witt, 2005; Louv, 2005; UNESCO, 2002). This alienation is likely to result in little appreciation for, and knowledge about, natural, organic, local, and seasonal foods, and may therefore potentially coincide with a consumption pattern that

⁵ An interesting example in this regard is a recent study into the practices of a French, three-star Michelin-chef who decided to start working almost exclusively vegetarian—not for health or environmental reasons, but for reasons of taste, quality, and creativity. As the authors explain: "During our first informal conversations with him in 1999, he was already referring to vegetables as conveying happiness, colours, new tastes and new perspectives. In interviews given later, he insisted on his need for creativity and inspiration with vegetables: 'I can't get excited about a lump of barbecue meat' ... and, 'I wanted to change the material with which I worked. It's like an artist who works in watercolours and turns his hand to oils or a sculptor in wood who changes to bronze'" (Gomez & Bouty, 2011).

is more susceptible to and possibly shaped by the interests of the commercialized, industrial food system and the powerful influence of advertising and branding (Nestlé, 2002). Given the trend towards continuing urbanization worldwide⁶ (UN, 2010) and the increasing development of food technology and life sciences (Lang & Heasman, 2004), it can be expected that the feeling of being disconnected and alienated from nature will increase in the future (Turner, Nakamura, & Dinetti, 2004). At the same time, due to the increasing scarcity of natural resources and the growing vulnerability of agriculture due to for example climate change, it is necessary to bring a holistic, or complex-systems-understanding to the issue of how to provide a growing (world) population with healthy food and nourishment (Herren, 2011; PUP, 2011).⁷ Both these issues can be addressed by initiatives that succeed to make the link between food and nature more visible, experiential, and direct, especially in urban environments (Turner, Nakamura, & Dinetti, 2004). An example is the development of *urban agriculture*, which enables cities to (partially) feed themselves from within and from its neighboring communities (Dixon, Donati, Pike, & Hattersley, 2009; Morgan & Sonnino, 2010).⁸ Also, new supermarket- and/or restaurant concepts that experiment with growing food on site are interesting and promising in this regard (Trouw, 2010⁹; Biojournaal,

⁶ The population living in urban areas is projected to gain 2.9 billion, passing from 3.4 billion in 2009 to 6.3 billion 2050 (UN, 2010)

⁷ See the Rio+20 Policy Brief: Food security for a planet under pressure. Transition to sustainability: interconnected challenges and solutions:

www.planetunderpressure2012.net/pdf/policy_foodsecurity.pdf

⁸ Urban agriculture already contributes substantially to food security in many cities, both as an important component of urban food systems in general and as a means for vulnerable groups to address their own particular food insecurities. An estimated 800 million people are engaged in urban agriculture worldwide, producing 15-20 percent of the world's food (Karanja & Njenga, 2011).

⁹ Trouw (2010), Hoe smaakt Nederland straks? Online available at:

www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/1092963/2010/03/05/Hoe-smaakt-Nederland-straks.dhtml [in Dutch].

2011¹⁰). More generally, initiatives that strengthen people's knowledge about, or enable them to experience the multiple links between food and nature, planting, harvesting, and preparation, may increase a feeling of connectedness with nature, motivate a more mindful handling of food, and enhance people's overall appreciation of food (production). In the context of urban agriculture, one can also think of school gardens, (collectively maintained) fruit trees in public spaces, and a variety of initiatives that allow people to experience and explore the connection between their food and the natural environment. Various big cities such as Toronto, New York, San Francisco, London, and Amsterdam (Steel, 2008) are already working on future food strategies, which tend to contain at least some of these elements. Attempting to localize the food production, wherever feasible, is an important component of these strategies (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010). These strategies should be accompanied by an appealing vision of a sustainable food system, and participation of citizens should be actively encouraged.

A perceived lack of connection between purity and pleasure

With the growing emphasis on, and appreciation of, *purity* among the population, the ethical dimensions of food consumption patterns can be raised more easily. Survey data suggest that a substantial part of Dutch society is receptive to the idea that humanity is transgressing natural limits and should alter its consumption patterns (de Boer, Hoogland, & Boersema, 2007). However, these ideas may also give rise to an individualistic understanding of one's responsibility as consumer, resulting in *high moral standards* that individuals feel unable to live up to, and therefore worries about making wrong choices. The interviewees who were most inclined to make responsible choices were also the most worried about failing. This individualistic interpretation of one's responsibility may therefore signify an important potential, yet can also create a serious barrier for broader participation. Hence, (governmental)

¹⁰ http://www.biojournaal.nl/nieuwsbericht_detail.asp?id=6209 [in Dutch]

policies should be oriented towards facilitating and rewarding the individuals that are taking on these responsibilities, and remove 'perverse subsidies' that currently make less sustainable choices (more) attractive to consumers. This also entails the gradual implementation of the 'polluter pays principle,' thus using the market as messenger (Atcheson, 2007). More generally, policies and initiatives should appeal to, as well as provide more information about, the moral and social dimensions of daily consumer choices. As stated above, these appeals should be made preferably in a positive way—that is, by emphasizing the positive values associated with responsible consumption (rather than the negative values associated with less responsible choices), such as benefits to the individual's health, higher quality and better taste, and the good feeling associated with supporting one's local economy, or issues like social justice, animal welfare, and environmental sustainability. In this way, the barrier of a perceived lack of connection between purity and pleasure may be addressed and lowered. It is thus important in all communication, design-, and policy strategies that responsible choices are portrayed with at least as much emphasis on its potential for pleasure, as on its potential for purity.

'Mindless' food choices and habits

The value of *awareness* or mindfulness, central in the appreciation of the organic consumer's food choices, illuminate the potential barrier of generally more *mindless food habits*, as come to expression in an emphasis on fast food, big portions, and other unhealthy food habits. Obviously, policy-advice on how to address these barriers is not easily formulated, as mindless consumption seems to be at the heart of the problem and numerous public health studies have been conducted that try to tackle these issues (source). However, a potential pragmatic solution with regards to the consumption of great quantities of conventionally produced meat is to create *portion size awareness in public food services*, such as school-, governmental-, and company canteens. Studies have shown that people who were aware of portion size tended to consider the implications of food choices in terms of health, weight control, and ethical issues

(de Boer et al., 2009). The choice for smaller portions of meat often correlated with less frequent meat consumption (fewer days per week), compared to other consumers (Schösler, Boer, & Boersema, 2012). The role of portion size has been investigated thoroughly in studies concerned with obesity (Hill, Wyatt, Reed, & Peters, 2003) and it is an interesting question for future research how consumers may be encouraged to make more environmentally friendly choices without having to adjust their habits too much. The interview studies discussed in sections 3 and 4 indicated that adjustment of portion size was also a strategy employed by highly involved consumers. They associated smaller portions with higher quality as well as perceived it as a way to compensate for higher prices. This emphasis on higher quality can potentially help to promote smaller portions (especially with more involved consumers).

The cultural assumption that 'a meal without meat is not a real meal'

From the gourmets we learn that a focus on *the pleasure of taste* may be a viable way to promote more sustainable food consumption patterns, generally shifting the emphasis from great quantity to high quality. In the case of promoting meat-reduction, an emphasis on high quality-meat¹¹ rather than on a complete vegetarianism seems viable. The high valuation of authentic taste and the idea of meat as a delicacy in local food culture could be helpful in promoting this shift. However, one of the well-known barriers associated with a focus on pleasure is the deeply engrained, cultural assumption that *a meal without meat is not a 'real' meal*. The emphasis on 'good taste' or on the 'authenticity of taste' may be a way of marketing more sustainable forms of meat-consumption that a substantial amount of the public may be susceptible to. Next to that, communications targeting vegetarianism should be reframed, for example

¹¹ While an emphasis on quantity generally implies or results in low-quality meat, produced in ways detrimental to animal welfare, environmental quality, social conditions, and the individual's health and well-being, an emphasis on high quality-meat tends to go together with smaller quantities of meat, produced in circumstances that tend to be more considerable of animal welfare, environmental quality, social/worker conditions, and the individuals' health.

emphasizing vegetarian cooking as a *creative craft* and associating it with experiment, innovation, creativity, “vegetable gastronomy”, or a ‘healthy, balanced, and happy’ lifestyle, thereby potentially creating new cultural associations and assumptions.

The promotion of new foods and new food styles may be a central part of this strategy, such as the increased consumption of pulses, insects, milk made from grains or nuts, or for example the coconut-hype that we see in the USA, in which dairy is increasingly being replaced in health-oriented products. In fact, the underlying assumption of this barrier may be described as the cultural assumption that particularly animal products provide humans with important proteins to stay healthy and fit. Such cultural assumptions are substantiated for example in food guide pyramids (Nestlé, 2002), but are controversial from a health perspective (see e.g. AICR, 2007; Cordain, et al., 2005). On considering the Dutch food pyramid, it occurs that various sources of plant protein, like pulses, nuts, and whole wheat, are separated from proteins of animal origin and grouped with breads, pasta, and other sources of carbohydrates, instead. An adjustment of this categorization can aid consumers to understand that a variety of foods can provide us with proteins that can (partially) substitute meat in the future. At the same time, the implicit cultural hierarchy of food that puts meat in a unique, superior position (Douglas & Nicod, 1974) is implicitly contested.

In this context, insects are a special case. In the Netherlands there have been some efforts to promote insects as a sustainable alternative to meat. In most non-European countries insects are consumed on a regular basis (de Foliart, 1999; Ramos-Elorduy, 2009) and they are not entirely foreign to Western Food culture (B. Morris, 2008). The marketing of insects as either a specialty of other food cultures or as a ‘natural and pure source’ of protein, with minimal environmental impact or animal suffering seems feasible. For the gourmets, it is likely that insects would stand a better chance than food innovations coming from the lab.

A lack of food competences such as vegetarian cooking

As the gourmets demonstrate, the presence of certain *food competences* may be an important factor in making more sustainable food choices. Frequently mentioned barriers associated with this value are therefore a *lack of capacity for vegetarian cooking*, and in a more general sense a *lack of food knowledge*. A possibility to address these barriers is to facilitate initiatives that allow people to develop these competences, for example through vegetarian cooking classes, TV programs, courses about health and nutrition, and gardening and cooking projects. An interesting example in this regard is “the Wellness Club,” a corporate initiative (developed by the American company *Whole Foods Market*) in which consumers are educated and supported to make healthier choices in their daily life, including developing the practical skills as well as the social network supportive of sustaining these choices as a permanent *lifestyle*—a lifestyle that is supposed to increase their overall sense of well-being, health, and happiness. A more vegetarian and generally vegetable-based diet is a central part of the education of this club.¹² Overall, the themes of health, fitness, beauty, and slimness seem promising in the context of communicating more natural, sustainable, and vegetarian foods.

As food consumption habits of individuals tend to take shape at an early age (Vansteenkiste, Soenens, & Vandereycken, 2005), there seems to be great value in involving children in activities of food production and food preparation. Schools and even day care centers therefore have an important role to play in teaching children about the food they eat.

The fragmentation of food production and consumption

The interviews with particularly the gourmets show that social relatedness—referring to food as both an important binder in intimate relations (family and friends) as well as communal relations (various actors in the food chain, from producer to retailer)—is an important value associated with more sustainable

¹² See: www.wholefoodsmarket.com/wellnessclub

food practices. Associated with this value is the barrier resulting from the fragmentation of production and consumption processes. Machines have replaced much of human labor and primary produce passes through various steps of processing that are often dispersed globally and conducted by large multinationals or ‘food empires’ (Lyson & Raymer, 2000). Generally speaking, consumers don’t know the producers of their food and in many cases have very little information about origin and production processes. The personal and social element is therefore largely removed from the food chain. This also tends to result in decreased transparency (see also: Hoogland, de Boer, & Boersema, 2005). Solutions can be sought in initiatives that help to personalize food production again. Next to a re-localization of food production, more transparency and information regarding the producer of the products are helpful. A scheme such as ‘Nature and More’ is an interesting example in this regard, as all their produce is marked with a label that contains a code, which functions as a doorway to information about the product. With this code consumers can go online, read about the producers, and find out where their purchased goods come from and how they were produced.¹³ While such extensive schemes might be difficult to implement on a large scale, the obligatory indication of provenance and the locality of processing on product labels can be a starting point, and may substantially contribute to consumer awareness.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this study was to give insight into the emergence of a (more) sustainable food culture and to translate these insights to the policy making process, in order to facilitate the transition towards more sustainable food consumption patterns in society. The two food movements described here—the organics and the gourmets—show that individuals are capable of translating their values into their daily habits and practices, thereby re-visioning and

¹³ www.natureandmore.com

reinventing the dominant food culture. However, since the data were derived from two highly selective groups of individuals in a specific Northwestern European country, the interview findings presented here cannot easily be generalized to a larger population. The current study builds on qualitative interview studies that engage few participants in order to develop a thorough, in-depth understanding of how daily food practices are meaningful to the individual. The main criterion of this research is thus the *understandability* of such practices rather than the representativeness of their accounts. However, in combination with the cultural-historical literature studies of those movements and the contextualization of our findings in sociological theory, we are confident that the emerging value-orientations represent larger cultural currents within Dutch and even Western society, and we expect them to continue to grow in the future.

As pointed out in section 4, the data demonstrate a contrast between the predominantly ethical orientations of the organics with the predominantly aesthetical orientations of the gourmets. To simplify slightly, one might speak of a divergence between purity and pleasure. While their philosophies can be contrasted in some respects, it should be recognized that these movements share the common goal of a more sustainable, humane, healthy, and satisfying food system. In our view, marrying the two perspectives may substantially strengthen their cultural potential for change, because the display of the combined values of both purity and pleasure are likely to generate more interest of the larger public. Whereas too much emphasis on purity may be associated by certain consumers with sobriety or even deprivation, an exclusive emphasis on pleasure may bring up associations of emptiness or superficiality for others. When the two value-orientations are combined, these potential pitfalls may be overcome. Interestingly, it seems that—based on our own observations, but also on, for example, commentaries in national newspapers—the illustrated tendencies may have indeed started to converge: Organics appear to increasingly incorporate the aspect of food quality, taste, and the importance of

an attractive presentation,¹⁴ while gourmets may have become more aware of the fact that eating green does not conflict with the pleasure of taste. Moreover, gourmets increasingly seem to recognize that food sustainability might be a prerequisite for preserving high quality food as well as many traditional aspects of food culture.^{15 16}

The interview-data thus demonstrate that there is a *plurality of positive values* associated with these new consumption patterns—ranging from quality and pleasure, local economy and social relations, health and vitality, to environmental concerns and an appreciation for nature—that communicators and policy-makers can (potentially even simultaneously) draw on, and be inspired by, in their attempts to develop policies and strategies aimed at compelling the larger population into more sustainable food choices. This seems viable especially as these values are of such a wide-ranging, pluralistic nature, thereby allowing them to speak to, resonate with, and tap the cultural potentials of many different worldviews at the same time (see also: Hedlund-de

¹⁴ In the words of Carlo Petrini: “Pleasure and sustainability are a good match. I’ve always said: A gastronome who doesn’t care about the environment, is stupid. An environmental activist who doesn’t care about food, is pathetic.” In: ‘De beeldtaal van bio’ 2.8.2011, *de Volkskrant* (www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2844/Archief/archief/article/detail/2826341/2011/08/02/De-beeldtaal-van-bio.dhtml)

¹⁵ ‘Voedsel heeft geen enkele waarde meer’ 30.5.2011, *de Volkskrant* [Dutch national newspaper].

¹⁶ The cultural philosopher Charles Taylor reflects on this process on a more abstract level, arguing that modern culture is partially characterized by a turn towards *the voice of nature within* (or a “rehabilitation of nature,” as discussed in section 3.1). From this “expressivist” perspective, a central part of the good life consists of being open to the impulse of nature: “To be in tune with nature is to experience [our] desires as rich, as full, as significant—to respond to the current of life in nature” (C. Taylor, 1989, p. 372). In this way, sensuality itself becomes significant, pleasure becomes pure: “The good life itself comes to consist in a perfect fusion of the sensual and the spiritual, where our sensual fulfillments are experienced to have higher significance,” thereby tending “to dissolve the distinction between the ethical and the aesthetic” (p. 373).

Witt & Hedlund-de Witt, forthcoming). Efforts of various agents to initiate change can thus be strengthened by appealing to a diverse spectrum of positive values (see table 2, p.27). Moreover, as also other authors have argued, food issues seem particularly suited for holistic, synergistic, or *integral approaches* that simultaneously address many different food-related issues: Food safety and social justice, health and obesity, local economy, rural livelihoods, ecological issues and sustainability need to be addressed from a systems perspective, acknowledging the complex interdependencies between them (see also Herren, 2011; Rio+20 Policy brief, 2011). Therefore, the identified value-orientations form a valuable starting point for policy makers to formulate (communication) strategies that elevate and maintain the motivation of people to change their food practices, address important (cultural) barriers to such change, as well as provide a basis for more integral, holistic policy-making in the food domain.

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Part 2: Six case studies

1. Whole Foods Market

Sources: Interview with David Lannon, the regional manager of all WF stores in Northern California; several interviews with John Mackey as found on the internet (including an interview between Ken Wilber and John Mackey); and the company's website (www.wholefoodsmarket.com).

Introduction and highlights

Whole Foods Market is a company that was founded in 1980 in Austin, U.S.A., by “boomers” or “hippies” (Lannon). Today, WF is *the world's leader in natural and organic foods*, with more than 310 stores in North America and the United Kingdom, and over 62.000 team members. WF continues to expand rapidly (WF website). The CEO, John Mackey, was also one of the founders of the company. He is a dedicated vegan, a way of life that has had a profound influence on the culture and ideals of WF as a company (Lannon).

WF's success may be explained by a few crucial factors. In the first place, the company is run according to *a different business model and philosophy* ('conscious capitalism'), which appears to have far-reaching effects on the company culture and all the team members that make the store to what it is. Lannon speaks of the “empowered team member” and the decentralized organizational structures. The company seems to be effective at simultaneously appealing to a wide range of value-orientations in society, thereby attracting many different kinds of costumers, and excluding few of them. The *spiral dynamics* model is used to support this approach. Lastly, rather than just selling products, WF seems to be selling a *lifestyle*—a lifestyle that compels many, as for example comes to expression in their new program “the Wellness Club.” When you go to WF, you are not just entering a supermarket, but you are seduced into having a *whole (foods) experience*—delightful, colorful, inspiring.

Values at the core: Whole foods - whole people - whole planet

The mission of WF is summarized in the following statement: “whole foods - whole people - whole planet.” From the website (www.wholefoodsmarket.com):

Whole Foods: We search for the highest quality, least processed, most flavorful and natural foods possible because we believe that food in its purest state—unadulterated by artificial additives, sweeteners, colorings and preservatives—is the best tasting and most nutritious food there is.

Whole People: Our people are our company. They are passionate about healthy food and a healthy planet. They take full advantage of our decentralized, self-directed team culture and create a respectful workplace where people are treated fairly and are highly motivated to succeed.

Whole Planet: We are committed to helping take care of the world around us, and our active support of organic farming and sustainable agriculture helps protect our planet. And while we assist our global neighbors through our Whole Planet Foundation’s micro-lending operations, we also step out the back door of each of our stores to support food banks, sponsor neighborhood events and donate to local non-profit groups.

A different business model and philosophy: Conscious capitalism

WF is run according to John Mackey’s notion of *conscious capitalism*. According to John Mackey, this will become the dominant business paradigm in the 21st century, simply because it works better, also economically. Conscious capitalism is based on two major principles:

1. Businesses have a deeper purpose than maximizing profit. However, profit is an important, indispensable means to fulfilling the end of the deeper purpose. Just as we don’t live to eat, but eat to live, businesses make profit to fulfill their purpose, not the other way around.
2. Businesses exist within an interdependent system of stakeholders, and they need to be serving, and maximizing value for all of these stakeholders, rather than putting their shareholders first.

When asking David Lannon about what Whole Foods is, in its essence, he immediately starts to talk about the core-values of the company:

It all comes down to our core values. We are trying to make the earth a better place; taking care of the customers, but at the same time taking care of mother earth. We try to be as transparent with our customers as possible, and then let them make the decisions about what they choose to buy. WF sells the highest quality of natural and organic foods in the world—that is the basis. We sell 50.000 items, so it is a complex issue. In some areas we do really well, and in other areas we still need to do more. Because we have been successful in the past, customers sometimes assume we do better than we really do; they may for example think that everything that we carry is organic, but that is not the case. We want to be Whole Foods, but also we don't want to be elitist. If the customer wants a strawberry in the winter, we will cater for that. You want to strive for your highest ideals, so our preference is to carry organic, but you also want to understand that costumers want what they want. But there are other areas where we draw the line hard in the sand, and that is especially around animals. With regard to animal proteins, we have made a stance with all our vendors and farmers, in terms of our 5-step animal compassion plan. Essentially we have a process with all of our farmers, so they can start at a point where it is acceptable to us and then they can move up. So it starts with 'do the animals have access to the outdoors?' and 'is where they were raised clean et cetera?' and then it goes into 'there is no tail docking' 'the mother is never separated from the calves' all the way up to step 5, where the animal spends his whole life at the same farm. That is a standard that all of our animal producers have to meet now. The hope is that as customers are starting to understand it more, they will perceive a higher value for the farmer that is really doing the right thing. But, Americans are also addicted to buying cheap food, so it is tricky.

Making everybody happy: Appealing to multiple value-orientations

Meat consumption, and notably its quality, seems to be an important issue for WF. Rather than just offering high-quality meat of animals that have had a decent life and educating the costumer on that (as described in the above 5-step compassion plan), WF goes one step further in supporting the customer to make a shift in his/her diet. Rather than just selling products, WF seems to be selling a life-style:

We have been successful as a company, but we do need to tell people what to eat more. The big program that we are working on now is called The Wellness Club. So for a long time our approach has been one of informing the customer, being transparent, educating him, seducing him—but ultimately letting the customer making his or her decisions about what to buy. However, we do feel that we know what the right diet is to avoid a lot of the Western-excess diseases—a diet that also potentially leads to longer life spans, and an overall healthier, and perhaps happier, life. That is a close to vegan or vegan diet, or at least eating smaller quantities of meat, like only once or twice a week. We understand that a lot of our customers are not going to follow that, but we are trying to offer a pathway for customers who want to. So in this program, The Wellness Club, we teach them how to cook, we offer classes in health and nutrition, we create a community of people who are trying to do the same, and when shopping as a wellness member you get discount on certain healthy products, such as all vegetable produce and nuts and so forth. We are in the test-phase now with this program, but it has been going really well so far. I think we just recognize that obesity (and bad health habits) is one of the biggest issues in the world, especially in America. We are running out of money for our health care. And that is not even talking about all the environmental impacts and all those other kinds of things. So we don't only see this as a core-value of the company (striving towards the health and longevity of our costumers), but also as a business-opportunity. There is only one way out of this diet of Western excess, and that is through actually changing our diets—more wholesome and more vegetable/vegetarian. The main reason why people die in the Western world is related to diet: most cancers, heart disease, diabetes, high blood pressures, strokes—all those causes are related to diet. But it all really depends on how you want to shop the store, and how deep you want to go with all of it, so we try to please all customers, and yet bring our concern with health, the environment, and care for animals, powerfully to the fore.

As this quotation makes clear, WF goes a step further and offers the opportunity of actually changing one's lifestyle and diet to its customers, yet they make sure to do this in a way that doesn't alienate the costumers who don't want to go that far. In that sense, WF seems to be appealing to multiple value-orientations and consumer-interests at the same time. David Lannon in response to my question about the role of culture and cultural development in relationship to the company's principles and policies:

John Mackey is a big believer in Spiral Dynamics, a perspective that there is a continuing process of growth, development, and potentially progress in human society. I have been for 25 years with WF, and we spent a lot of time talking about culture, company culture, and the larger culture. We spent more time talking about the quality of shrimp than we talk about financials. When John became vegan, you know, we had a certain commitment to animal welfare already, but we have gone just so much deeper with that afterwards. It actually influenced the whole company's culture. When I look back at when I started at WF 25 years ago, the joke was that natural food was for hippies, a lot of granola, that kind of thing. For regular people to shop at a natural foods store was kind of wacky. But now that is not the case anymore. We just opened a store in Oklahoma City, that is doing really well, and we are opening a store in Detroit. It is not that alternative anymore. For us, who fought for organic standards et cetera, it is a victory that Wal-Mart is selling organic now.

In an interview with John Mackey, entitled “The future of business is integral” and hosted by Ken Wilber, John Mackey explains how WF simultaneously appeals to the different levels of development that Spiral Dynamics¹⁷ describes. Or in other words, he describes how WF at the same time appeals to a plurality of different value-orientations, thereby espousing an ‘integral approach’, not aiming to satisfy one type of customer, but aiming to satisfy multiple types of customers, however without losing touch with its core-values:

Purple: WF has a lot of tribal elements, we are organized in tribes. We have certain rituals and magic things that appeal to people at the Purple level.

¹⁷ *Spiral Dynamics* is a theory of human development introduced in the 1996 book *Spiral Dynamics* by Don Beck and Chris Cowan. Spiral Dynamics argues that human nature is not fixed: humans are able, when forced by life conditions, to adapt to their environment by constructing new, more complex, conceptual models of the world that allow them to handle the new problems. Each new model, or worldview, transcends and includes all previous ones. According to Beck and Cowan, these conceptual models are organized around systems of core values applicable to both individuals and entire cultures. Different colors are used to symbolize these different stages of consciousness—and thus worldviews and value-orientations. See www.spiraldynamics.net and figure 1.

Red: There is not that much red drives in the company; although quite a few people like this come in, they generally move up in their motivations, or don't stay that long.

Blue: We have absolute core-values at WF. Our core-values don't change, so that gives a lot of stability, structure, security and authority, which is what people at this value-orientation really like.

Orange: We are very achievement-oriented; we are a very competitive organization, we primarily compete with ourselves, but also with other companies. We have structured the competition of the company to be a healthy competition of continuous learning and continuous improvement. Anything except the core-values have to get better and better.

Green: We are so idealistic, notably with respect to environmental sustainability, so this value-structure is at the very essence of what we are trying to do. The whole organic, natural foods movement arose out of this value-structure. We are also very communitarian.

Yellow: The ethics of the company are to provide value for all our stakeholders simultaneously: the customers, the environment, the team-members, the local community, the vendors, the shareholders. So we teach people to think in terms of the system, and we measure their success by how much value they create for any of these stakeholders, not just for our shareholders.

I think this kind of business really just simply works better: there are not the usual adversarial relationships between the management and the people on the work floor, and the shareholders love it, because we are so profitable, and yet we are so environmental responsible and communitarian.

WF is well known for its excellent customer-service, well-informed and friendly personnel, and its aesthetically pleasant stores. Many people seem to really enjoy shopping at WF, and thereby WF is able to bind its customers in a much stronger way than most supermarkets seems to be able to. I asked David Lannon his ideas about "WF's secret."

The biggest thing I would say is our team-structure, the empowered team-member. We vote over who can join the team. We also share all our financial information with our team members. And there is a salary cap in the company, so that the highest paying person in the company can only make 19 times more than the average. In the fortune 500 companies this is about 350 times. The joke that we make is: what is the worst thing that can happen to somebody working at WF? It is to be not included in making a decision. Everybody likes to be involved. If you come for a job-interview, there may be 20 people there. So there is a profound sense of connectedness and engagement; I think that's why people who come in often stay a really long time, and that's also why many people really want to work there. It is our company culture. The philosophy is that happy team members make the customers happy, and happy costumers make the stockholders happy. Furthermore, we spent a lot of time making the space really nice, the colors and the light et cetera, making sure that it doesn't feel like a supermarket. The aesthetics is an important element. It is also important to us that all stores are different; they have their own local flavor and feeling. It has to be a community store. We are also a really decentralized company. So all the different WF stores share the same values, but there are not many decisions that are coming from our head quarters in Austin in terms of how the different stores operate. So the vast majority of the decisions are kept at the store level. We spent a lot of time hiring people, finding the right individuals, or actually creating new positions, because we want to keep the power at the store level. They have to make the decisions, they have to take care of the customers, so we can keep the level of bureaucracy as low as possible. Hire nice people; it's really important. We don't work with a command and control structure. Sometimes it takes a while to get things implemented, but then when everybody has fully understood it and is connected to it, it tends to work really well, and we end up being really effective. I think we are coming from a whole different understanding about human functioning and development. Also, we sent our team-members all over the place. It's the policy of our company: all our team-leaders go the facilities and the ranches, so that they are not only very well informed, but also personally engaged. If you only have to put a box on a shelf, why should you care? But if you get to see what we are selling, and why we are selling it, you get engaged, you get yourself excited about the products we sell, and then you work with more dedication, you treat the customers better, et cetera. That's the basic idea. I can tell when I go into a retail and it is phony. But if you get people actually excited about the products, then they want the customer to buy it, coming from their excitement. Another thing is that we really focus on quality: it has to taste good, it has to look good... So we don't make being organic more

important than the overall quality of the product. If it is organic but it doesn't taste good, well, we think that is not very compelling, and we won't sell it.

As this quotation shows, the culture's company—its real engagement with its people, its products, the empowered team member, and the decentralized structure—seems central to the company's success. But also its emphasis on quality and aesthetics are important, next to its more idealistic aspirations. Again, one can see how appealing to and taking care of multiple values (e.g. quality, health, customer service, local community, aesthetics, environmental sustainability, animal welfare) *simultaneously*—thus not focusing on one at the cost of (many) others—may be the real key to WF success.

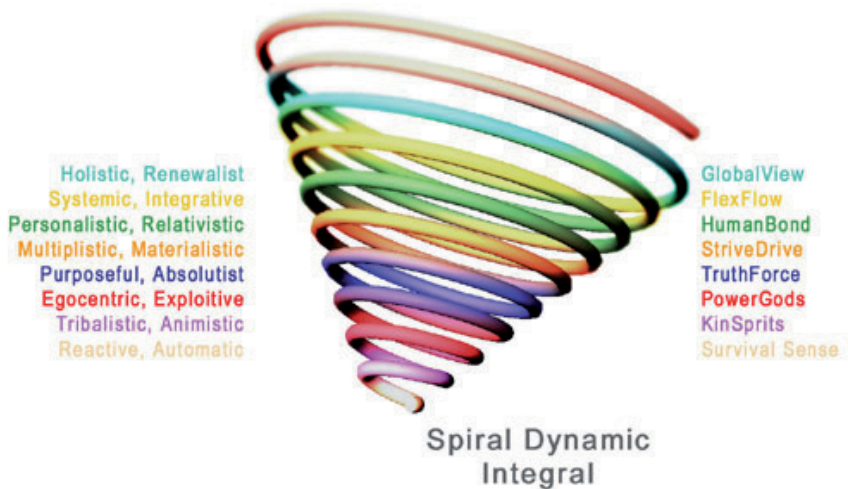


Figure 1: A visual overview of the spiraled nature of the evolution of consciousness that Spiral Dynamics aims to depict.

2. Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten

Sources: Interview with Karl Schweisfurth, owner of Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten, several interviews with the founder of Herrmannsdorfer as found on the internet (www.sueddeutsche.de: 'Der Fall Herrmannsdorfer: Schwein gehabt'), and material found on www.herrmannsdorfer.de and www.schweisfurth.de

Introduction and highlights

Karl-Ludwig Schweisfurth is famous in Germany. His son, also named Karl, has now taken over his business. Schweisfurth was renowned for being the owner of Europe's biggest sausage factory (Herta). However, after his first visit to one of his intensive animal production sites, he decided virtually overnight to leave the conventional meat industry, and he founded the *Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten* in 1985. Landwerkstätten translates roughly as 'workshops' expressing the artisanal character of the consortium of various joint farms, a butchery, bakery, cheese dairy, a brewery and vegetable gardens. The entire production is based on organic and local production and the workshops provide basic as well as high quality artisan products. These are sold in Herrmannsdorfer's shops and to restaurants and the shops provide a great variety of foods that consumers might need on a daily basis.

Nowadays, Schweisfurth is known in Bavaria and beyond for his visionary new concept that creates the foundation for a different approach to agriculture, food consumption, the land, the animals and slaughter. In November 2011, Herrmannsdorfer was chosen as one of three companies with the most sustainable future strategy in Germany. It counts as a model project for the production of food with respect for nature and animals, while maintaining profit. Herrmannsdorfer have 11 meat shops throughout Munich and their products are sold by other organic shops as well as by 22 restaurants in the city.

Lessons from this case study are described in the four topics below.

Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten successfully builds on the *craft principle* that

imbues the entire enterprise with meaning. In this context we discuss the shift *from fragmentation to integration* and the related principle of the *meaningful use* of food. Last but not least, we turn to the question how the company succeeds in *conveying meaning to consumers* and thereby closing its own business cycle.

The craft principle

Craft has central meaning for Herrmannsdorfer. When asked what Herrmannsdorfer is all about, Schweisfurth answers:

It's all about handmade food. We like to say 'Lebens-Mittel'. Means to live, which signals the importance they have for us - what we use daily to maintain our physical and spiritual wellbeing. So, it's handmade foods of organic quality. Handmade not industrial, not the machine but a person governs the process. Is the dough right? Is the sausage spiced right? The principle is to work with modern technique, but the technique is always in the service to improve the product or to facilitate human labor, it does not serve to make the product cheaper. So the machine needs to adapt to the product, not the other way around. That is the craft principle.

The craft principle also implies a certain size of the business. Schweisfurth explains:

All began with the criticism of the large-scale concern, its anonymity and sheer size. I'm not fascinated by size and growth. I'm fascinated by people who work skillfully and meticulously. Another important motive is the connection and association with the animal. I am a farmer, and I always liked to work with animals. I could never imagine working in a big farm where the connection with the animal is completely lost.

Craft imbues the food with meaning. At the same time, the craft approach enables him to re-connect with animals. According to the theory laid out in the accompanying research report, nature connectedness and craft are two

important cultural currents within modern culture. Schweisfurth illustrates here how these currents potentially converge and enhance each other.

A different business model: From fragmentation to integration

The company is particularly commended for the connection it establishes between agricultural production, artisanal processing, and direct regional retail. In fact, the business incorporates all links of the supply chain within its organization - primary production, processing and retail. Also, the required energy for the production processes is produced in a biogas installation on the premises of Herrmannsdorfer. Long-term commitment to farmers from the region secures local employment. Also, all employees share in the profits. The distance between salaries of managers and lower scale employees is limited and Herrmannsdorfer sticks to the principle of "open doors". This means that they share their knowledge of organic production and processing with their competitors and colleagues. Also the active participation of customers is integrated in the larger process of food production. For example, they have the chance to invest in the development of a chicken farm branch at Herrmannsdorfer, which in fact upgrades consumers to co-producers (jury motivation for the 'Deutscher Nachhaltigkeitspreis (DNP), 2011).

Much of Herrmannsdorfer reveals the principle of integration and closing natural cycles. The business philosophy is built on the closing of natural cycles and the diversification of production systems, which is also in line with the principles of organic farming.

Every economic advisor would say this company is too complex. It encompasses three levels of value creation: agricultural production, processing, and retail, all in one hand. But this is exactly the point. We sell not only a product of extremely high quality, but also its complexity because all processes are integrated again. Take pigs as an example: industrial processes have created the farming of sows, the raising of piglets, the fattening, slaughter, sausage production, distribution, whole sale, retail distribution, the retail in supermarkets... The product changes owner roughly nine

times before the piglet has turned into sausage. ... What we do is complex. It requires know-how on all levels. Every level is rather small and therefore also economics of scale are small. However, it is also simplified because it is manageable. Every person can look at it. We don't depend on certifications and labels, instead you can see for yourself. It is also simplified in terms of transport and logistics. The separate entities in the chain work autonomously and self-dependent and they get together regularly to discuss the farming, production, and marketing.

Schweisfurth explains here how their business model of integration can be looked at in two different ways: from one perspective the business may seem more complex, yet from another angle it seems simpler. Apparently, their system makes sense to consumers, in contrast with the fragmented and often globally dispersed industrial food system. From an economic perspective, Schweisfurth points out that their approach is considered irrational and that economies of scale are ignored. But from the perspective of an individual (consumer) Herrmannsdorfer's approach is meaningful. Another asset of their approach, from Schweisfurth's perspective, is that the knowledge of retail units regarding what consumers really want, can quickly reach producers and processing units, as all are united in one enterprise.

The principle of meaningful use

The principle of integration does not only apply to the production processes, but also to consumption. With regards to consumption it entails the principle of meaningful use of the animal, and thus meaningful consumption of meat. One way this comes to expression is that Herrmannsdorfer actively promotes and processes all edible parts of animals for human consumption. This is considered as a sign of respect for the animal. The different shops selling the meat for example show a poster of the animal and the multiple parts used for food.

The principle of meaningful meat consumption also entails that the shops are supplied exactly with what is produced on the farms. Nothing is bought from

outside the Herrmannsdorfer system and all edible pieces of the animals are sold in the shop.

Our customers learn what the natural cycles look like and what this means for their meat consumption. Our shops sell the filets and chicken legs proportionally to the production. The shop gets the whole animal, Thursday and Friday the chicken breasts are sold, and after that the customers have to move to other pieces. Then the salesperson tells the customer that the filets have been sold and he or she gives some advice what nice things one can prepare with the chicken legs. We want to keep the promise that we know where our products come from. If we bought filets from other farmers, we couldn't really do that.

Schweisfurth raises here the important point that the consumption of different foods requires skill, aside from information. Herrmannsdorfer's approach works also because their shop personnel is knowledgeable and can get the company's philosophy across.

We argue for meaningful meat consumption. In the sense of food culture the current popular argument regarding the cow as climate killer is lopsided. The ecologically most meaningful animal is the cow (and to a lesser extend sheep and goats), because the cow doesn't eat our food. 60% of agricultural land is grassland. What would we do without cows and sheep that convert grass into human food. Pigs and chicken are simply easier to integrate with various industrial processes and be farmed more intensively. ... Also vegetarianism does not make perfect sense. The approach is not thought through. You can't eat all the dairy but refrain from eating meat. A cow needs a calf regularly in order to produce dairy. So, if you don't want to eat meat, you should be a vegan. So we argue, meat consumption according to the natural cycle. This is certainly much less than what is normal today.

Herrmannsdorfer shows its customers in the shop what meaningful use means to them. It is a matter of respect and gratitude that the whole animal is used for food.



Figure 2: A picture of a cow and all its edible parts, next to the meat counter in one of the shops of Herrmannsdorfer Landwerkstätten

Conveying meaning to consumers

The principle of meaningful use requires knowledge and information. Communication with consumers is therefore of utmost importance for Herrmannsdorfer. Schweisfurth describes their approach towards communicating with consumers. He argues that people have never been so interested in food and where their food comes from as they are today. He believes this is a relatively recent trend of the last decade. Also the media have picked this up. However, within the conventional system, it is extremely difficult for producers to convey information to consumers as all the room they have at their disposal is the label of the product. Schweisfurth argues that the most important thing is to communicate real facts.

Our customers want to be informed about natural cycles. People are incredibly interested how agriculture works, what it's all about. Grown-ups and children simply know too little. People are grateful because they want to know how their food is being made, and how the animals are kept. The media have also understood this. We inform and the free individual has free choice, but without information people have no grounds to make decisions on.

The problem is that we have to inform against the 'advertising billions' of the food industry. Half of all advertising is about food and of course that's also information that influences people. However, people are being incapacitated because that kind of information is shortened and oversimplified. From the beginning, we talked, talked, talked and we published. Luckily media are interested. We've made brochures with real facts in a way that people will like to take them in.

Schweisfurth argues that communication is essential, but how this is done is equally important. He argues for a complex but positive message, where "real facts" are presented. That way, the entire system can become meaningful for consumers and they can align themselves by also making meaningful consumption choices. Another important tool in communicating in a meaningful way with consumers, are the regular events held at the premises of Herrmannsdorfer in Glonn. The doors are always open for people to visit and a few times a year there are celebrations such as the 'Erntedankfest', the main harvest festival that typically features feasts incorporating the crops that came to maturity. The celebration conveys gratefulness for food, tradition and craft. It also serves to connect visitors with the land and fosters their appreciation and understanding for the work that has been done on the fields. Also, a look at their website makes clear that the enterprise seeks to convey rather the context and atmosphere as well as its leading principles rather than a detailed description of their products. It features extensive material regarding Herrmannsdorfer's values and principles, it shows the processing sites, explaining and illustrating processing steps, and it introduces the farmers that produce for Herrmannsdorfer. The enterprise hereby defines its meaning and in that way also their products become meaningful to consumers.

3. The Small Planet Institute

Sources: Interview with Frances Moore Lappé, co-founder of the Small Planet Institute, Lappé's most recent book, 'Eco-Mind: Changing the way we think to create the world we want', a talk Lappé gave at the "Hunger, Food & (Agroecological) Alternatives" colloquium in The Hague (12-12-2011), and the organization's website (www.smallplanet.org).

Introduction and highlights

The Small Planet Institute is an organization that aims to facilitate and further the transition towards a 'Living Democracy,' a society with empowered individuals shaping flourishing communities from the bottom-up. The organization was founded in 2001 by Frances Moore Lappé and her daughter Anna Lappé, both influential voices in the debate around food, health, and environment in the USA, as well as inspiring leaders in the growing global food movement. Frances Moore Lappé is the author of 18 books including the three million copy *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971), the first major book to critique grain-fed meat production as wasteful and a contributor to global food scarcity. Recently she published *Eco-mind*, which emphasizes the power of our ideas, and the creativity we can unleash when we align ourselves with empowering stories, instead of the common fear-generating 'thought traps.'

The strength of the Small Planet Institute seems to be a great understanding of the human psyche and its sensitivity to *stories of promise and possibility*. Empowerment seems to be the key-word for their approach: How can you empower, energize, inspire individuals to recognize that the choices that are the best for themselves, their communities, and the planet, also tend to be the most enjoyable and life-enhancing choices? Lappé thus *connects purity with pleasure*, or ethics with aesthetics, and inspires others to do the same. In this way, she argues for *food citizenship*, a perspective on the individual as an empowered consumer who is aware that every food choice is shaping the vitality, or lack of it, of one's community, nation, and world. Lastly, Lappé analyzes the current food system and offers suggestions for the role of governmental bodies as how to support a transition towards a more life-enhancing food system.

The power of ideas: Stories of promise and possibility

As Frances Moore Lappé explains, the Small Planet Institute works primarily on the level of ideas, because “it is through changing the way we think, that we can create the world we want.” According to Frances, the ideas of *scarcity*, *separateness*, and *stasis* are deeply engrained in our worldview, and actually end up generating such a world. As she illustrates with countless examples in her book *Ecomind*, scarcity is not the problem—on the contrary, “solutions to global crises are within reach ... the challenge for us is to free ourselves from self-defeating thought-traps so that we can bring these solutions to life.” As she explains in the interview:

The Small Planet Institute works on the level of ideas, because we believe that that's what makes the world. We are creatures of the mind—creatures that create the world according to our often unconscious assumptions about reality, including what is human nature and how nature works. So the very very core ideas about life. And one of those very core ideas is the idea of lack. This idea runs really deep. This premise of scarcity then leads, as I argue, to the actual generation of the experience of scarcity, no matter how much is produced. So the power of ideas is enormous. Therefore our organization works on the level of ideas—whether it's a presentation, a book, an article, or my daughter's big project right now is to create a series of online video's that directly address the myths that inform our present food system and make us believe that there is no alternative to this chemical- and capital intensive approach to farming and food. ... I think this is essential, because I believe that if we are starting from the wrong premises, no matter how hard we try we can't succeed. I think one of the main problems today is that we are collectively locked into fear, a frame of fear, and many communications around these issues actually increase the level of fear, and are therefore not as helpful as they could and need to be. ... So, we are really trying to work on this primary level of language, metaphor, and story—the words we use, the metaphors, and stories. The dominant story is that of fear and lack. So how do we tell an inspiring and energizing story, a story of possibility and promise, without being “pie in the sky,” without being naïve?

As Lappé emphasizes, the present system is created and held in place by flawed assumptions (such as the idea that we need to produce more food, because

there is hunger, while we actually produce enough food to feed everybody if the food were to be distributed and used well). Why, she asks, do we “create hunger out of plenty?” Simultaneously, through changing our ideas and through telling *empowering* stories, individuals will become moved and inspired to start changing their world:

Diet for a Small Planet has had an enormous effect on many many people's lives, which is absolutely wonderful. At the same time I have the impression that many of those same people didn't take to heart the deeper message of the book, namely that the grain-fed meat centered diet is a symptom and a symbol of the deeper flaw in our thinking that led to an economic system that destroys life. The Eco-mind is the alternative to this flawed way of thinking, as the Eco-Mind aligns us with nature, both our own nature and the natural world around us, and makes us aware that we are connected with everything. I think that right now we're perversely aligned, we're in opposition with our own nature and with nature around us. ... Every choice we make in the world, whether conscious or unconscious, is creating the world, and therefore as we make those assumptions and choices more conscious, we become more empowered to actually create the world we want. ... Eating a plant-centered diet is a way for me to remind myself every day again that a grain-fed meat-centered diet is part of this make-believe world that is destroying our world and our bodies. So as I choose every day to eat what is good for my body and good for the earth and good for others, I become more powerful to change the world, which in turn changes me... So it is emphasizing this potential for positive feedback loops in a system in which everything is related to each other.

People disparage themselves by saying “Oh, I'm just a drop in the bucket”—but on a rainy night buckets fill up really quickly! So, being a drop in the bucket is actually significant. The challenge is that many people feel that they are a drop in the Sahara desert and they feel their influence evaporates before they hit anything, because they can't see the bucket. The bucket then is the metaphor for a framework of meaning. So if you have a framework of meaning, you will see and feel that what you do as an individual is significant. So how do we create that bucket together? How do we build that framework of meaning in a way that it keeps on developing? Here the metaphor of a bucket falls short, because this framework is not a static thing—“now we have it all figured out”—but is more like a continuously developing and expanding framework of meaning and empowerment. Everything is a working

hypothesis—this is the best I know—and the excitement of life is that we continue to grow and learn and explore. So the Small Planet Institute is helping people to feel more empowered and energized to make a difference because they are developing a sense of how their individual lives contribute to systemic change.

Pure pleasure: Connecting ethics and aesthetics

The kind of approach Lappé emphasizes is connecting ethics and aesthetics, or purity and pleasure. It is an approach that emphasizes and illustrates that doing what is best for you—for your body and your health—is also what is most enjoyable. The exact language we choose to articulate this kind of perspective is of great importance, as Frances argues:

I tend to emphasize pleasure, aesthetics, beauty, sensuality, quality et cetera. That aspect seems to be so strong for people. The attention to beauty. Beauty is not a luxury: we all have a very authentic need for beauty, I think. But what is luxury? Luxury to me is beauty, often natural beauty. It's interesting how we tend to associate pleasure with hedonism, but what we are talking about here is not hedonism, it is the connection to our senses, our bodies, to nature, to beauty. ... I love phrases like 'vitality': words that communicate what we all want to be and have. A term like nutrition and even health can create associations with punitive measures, it doesn't sound tasty, it can even sound like medicine in my mouth. Health can feel like a chore. But when you say vitality, I can feel that that term opens me up, I can feel the energy flowing through me—I kinda want to get up and dance. In a similar way, I think vital communities or flourishing communities is a good substitute term for [economic] growth, because flourishing is what we really want.

From this perspective, Lappé argues that framing the ‘meat-reduction’ message entails emphasizing the richness, the many flavors and colors, and the delight of a plant-centered diet, for oneself, but also for others, and the earth, instead of portraying doom scenarios or telling stories that people tend to associate with punitive measures (“you can’t eat meat because it is bad for the environment”). For example, you can emphasize vegetables as something gastronomic, the joy of skillfully and beautifully prepared food, the art of vegetables or “vegetable gastronomy.” Or you emphasize values like vitality, and fitness:

Emphasize the power of what we can do and love to do. It is a “happy convergence”: doing what is best for our bodies, best for our health and well-being, best for the earth, best for other human beings. Isn’t that terrific: who wouldn’t want to choose that? A plant-centered diet is also where all the flavor variations are, all the texture, and color and combinations that all cultures have created—whereas there are just a few cuts of meat. There are, for instance, hundreds of different lentils. And then there are those cultures, such as the Indian culture, that have created such amazing flavors, mainly on the basis of spices and herbs, and are plant-centered. So that’s my approach: Wow, isn’t this wonderful! You feel better, the earth is definitely grateful, there is less animal cruelty, and on and on—so I feel it’s one of those choices in life that just works out great on so many fronts. It is also better for my budget, and for my waste-line. I used to be a calorie-counting and obsessive eater before I started eating a plant-centered diet. Since then, my body just started aligning with nature: it just started craving what is best for me instead of what is worst for me.

Food citizenship: The empowered consumer

From the perspective of the Eco-Mind, individuals start to see how they are interconnected with everything, and thus how they are both *deeply influenced* by all that surrounds them—and therefore the importance of their surrounding community, environment, and even world being healthy even from the perspective of their personal interests—as well as how they *deeply influence* all that surrounds them. As citizens and consumers, all our choices take on significance and power. Lappé speaks in this concept of the notion of food citizenship:

The notion or idea of ‘food citizenship’ is really trying to communicate that every decision that we make in terms of food is not just affecting the body, but the whole ‘body politic’—the whole political, social, institutional system. In this perspective, food is kind of a political body: what we eat is a vote for a certain world, a certain system. Food citizenship is then the inner realization that you are living in a ‘living democracy’, in which all of your choices are shaping the vitality, or lack of it, of yourself, your community, nation, and world. It is really a recognition of the social and political implications of all that we do, and our relationship to the earth.

Individuals recognizing their food citizenship and starting to co-create the world they want has surely had an effect, according to Lappé:

I am very aware of how vastly much more is happening than I would have predicted even 15 or 20 years ago, especially in terms of the food movement. The growth of farmers markets for example—they hardly existed here 20 years ago, and now they are everywhere—and community gardens, and community supported agriculture, and urban agriculture, organic farming, all these things have just grown immensely. And these practices are just basically embodying these values that we are talking about.

Systemic issues and the role of governments

At the same time, Lappé emphasizes the larger system that all individuals are part of and informed by, and how that to some extent also limits individual's opportunities for empowering choices. The presence of poverty, notably in the US, is in her eyes an enormous barrier to making the transition to a more plant-centered, real food, sustainable food system:

So many people are working multiple jobs, so they don't have the time and the resources to have access to healthy food. You could say that we live in a food desert, with unhealthy and unsustainable options everywhere, but real, healthy, sustainable food only accessible for wealthier people. And that combined of course with what we know about the addictive quality of junk food. Once your body is habituated to junk food it is very hard: you need to be part of a community that helps you make the shift, instead of making it harder for you because everybody else is eating hamburgers and hotdogs, too. And of course that goes together with the concentrated power that allows for the level of advertising that we have here. In the US, well over 80% of the advertising that children are exposed to is for junk food. And we know that advertising for junk food has a powerful impact; it actually stimulates your appetite. So again, what we need here is an empowering approach instead of a punitive approach. Not telling people that they are a bad parent or a bad person because they are not eating well or not feeding their children well, but empowering them, helping them make other choices that support them in their quality of life. It is really about human dignity: not taking away human dignity by making people feel bad about themselves but empowering them.

Addressing these systemic issues demands a responsible and strong government, according to Lappé:

We're naïve to think we can solve any of these issues—climate change, the global food crises, et cetera—without strong and responsible governments. And that means, especially here in the US, sidelining the role of corporations. More and more we seem to be moving toward a “privately held government”, as the influence of corporations and their lobbies on the political process are so enormous. But also more practically there are many actions and initiatives that governments can undertake that would support the transition. For example, of course it takes time to transition to organic farming, so here is a perfect role for governments to support farmers in this transition—precisely because it is something we all benefit from. That way we can realize much quicker and more effective transitions. As many European countries do. For example, in Austria 18% of cropland is being farmed organically. Or take Andhra Pradesh in India: here the state government is now getting behind sustainable and organic farming. This was the pesticide capital of the world, with among the highest rates of farmer suicides. Now at least 8.000 villages are transitioning. Most of this is very much bottom-up and women-led, but still supported by the government. So these kinds of partnerships are ideal. Restrictions preventing advertising to children are also really important. Childhood obesity is a health hazard—it is almost as bad as smoking cigarettes, and it tends to be a lifelong infliction, so children have the right to be protected. The increase in absolute deprivation, especially for children, in this culture is just criminal. Half of our children will be on subsidized food in some time in their childhood—and we know how bad that food is. One of three of our children is going to be diabetic. So of course public schools and the food that they serve are really important. For example, I read that in Rome schools provide organic food for school lunches. So there are many great examples of local and federal governments stepping in to support the transition to more sustainable food system. On the biggest level, it is removing the power of corporations over public decisions.

So Lappé is offering here suggestions for what governments worldwide can make a stance for, from protecting the rights of children to healthy and sustainable food, to creating favorable conditions for all those actors that are trying to contribute to a more healthy and sustainable food system.

4. Stadslandbouw Amsterdam

Bronnen: Interview met Fransje de Waard, ondernemer actief in de Amsterdamse stadslandbouw en expert in de permacultuur. Haar boek 'Tuinen van overvloed' (1996, Spectrum). De Groene Amsterdammer (2011). Eten. Nummer 29-30.

Introductie en highlights

Deze case beschrijft vanuit verschillende invalshoeken het fenomeen stadslandbouw. De case is gebaseerd op een interview met een belangrijke sleutelfiguur binnen de Amsterdamse stadslandbouw beweging, Fransje de Waard, en wordt aangevuld met literatuurstudie en interessante data die helpen de stadslandbouw beweging te beschrijven. De case beschrijft een belangrijke culturele beweging die laat zien, dat voedsel in Nederland over de laatste decennia met nieuwe waarden geassocieerd is gaan worden.

Voor ondernemers zullen de lessen uit deze case study verschillend zijn en afhankelijk van het product of de dienst die zij aanbieden. Samenvattend is te zeggen dat waarden die geschetst worden in de interview, duiden op belangrijke gevoeligheden van een grote groep mensen in de Nederlandse samenleving. Ondernemers kunnen aansluiten bij deze waarden, door in hun bedrijfs-, marketing- en communicatiestrategie rekening ermee te houden. Hiermee kunnen ze hun potentiële doelgroep vergroten. Ondernemers worden uitgedaagd om samen met hun medewerkers of andere stakeholders te reflecteren op de kernwaarden van hun onderneming. Zit er overlap met de waarden die geschetst worden in deze case? Wat zijn onze kernwaarden? Willen we deze communiceren? Hoe kunnen we de waarden doorvertalen naar onze producten of diensten?

Samenhang tussen mens en natuur

Onder stadslandbouw verstaat men het zelf verbouwen van voedsel in een (semi) stedelijke omgeving. Dit hoeven niet alleen volkstuinen te zijn maar bijvoorbeeld ook tuinieren in huis (*windowfarming*), op braakliggende terreinen

(*guerilla gardening*) of in leegstaande gebouwen. De Groene Amsterdammer omschreef stadslandbouwers onlangs als de nieuwe generatie boeren¹⁸. Onderzoek in Amerika wees uit dat mensen actief in de beweging doorgaans actief worden rondom de grote steden, meestal hoog opgeleid zijn, en jonger dan 27. De Waard geeft aan dat stadslandbouw ook in Nederland groeiende is bij vergelijkbare groepen. Carolyn Steel heeft het thema met haar boek over de 'Hungry City' (2009) verder onder de aandacht gebracht en in samenwerking met haar wordt nu bijvoorbeeld een lokale voedselstrategie voor Groningen vorm gegeven. Steel pleit onder andere ook voor het openen van een expertisecentrum voor stadslandbouw, waarin een nieuwe generatie boeren opgeleid zou kunnen worden, expertise gebundeld en kennis gedeeld zou kunnen worden (Foodtopia, 2009).¹⁹

Aan de consumentenkant is de wens naar regionale producten duidelijk. Duitsland bijvoorbeeld kent reeds 14 labels voor regionale herkomst, en Nederland kent 'Erkend Streekproduct'. Regionaal is het nieuwe bio²⁰. In 20 jaar tijd zijn ledenaantallen van volkstuinverenigingen aldaar toegenomen van 420.000 tot 1 miljoen, en 64% van alle pachters die sinds 2000 een perceel hebben, zijn jonger dan 55 jaar. Nederland telt inmiddels 240.000 volkstuinen. De beweging van stadslandbouw en in bredere zin het zelf aanbouwen of consumeren van lokaal voedsel gaat in belangrijke mate over het voelen van een verbondenheid tussen mens en natuur, aldus de Waard. Voedsel wordt gezien binnen een betekenisvolle en zinvolle grotere context waarin alles met elkaar samenhangt en er aandacht is voor het feit dat voedsel mensen met andere mensen en de natuur verbindt:

¹⁸De Groene Amsterdammer (2011). Eten. Nummer 29-30. (www.groene.nl/2011/29_30)

¹⁹Zie: www.smakelijkduurzamestad.nl/nieuws/groningen-foodtopia-naar-een-regionale-voedselvisie

²⁰Die Zeit (2011) Essen ist Heimat. Sonderbeilage.

Het grote verhaal is samenhang en verbinding. Stadslandbouw brengt dingen weer bij elkaar, maakt de samenhang tussen mens en natuur weer zichtbaar en zorgt ook voor sociale cohesie. De diepere betekenis van verbinding die gaat over een andere rol van de mens in de natuur, wordt nu door mensen intuïtief begrepen. 10 jaar geleden was dat niet zo. Dit is een duidelijke aanwijzing voor de bewustzijnsverandering die gaande is. Die samenhang houdt ook in dat milieu, economie en sociale systemen allemaal met elkaar te maken hebben. Het draait allemaal om zingeving en betekenis. Mensen willen puur en eerlijk voedsel, ze willen iets nog kunnen herkennen als voedsel. Echtheid speelt hierbij een belangrijke rol. Wat er tegenwoordig op de schappen ligt wordt gepercipieerd als namaak van wat het zou moeten zijn. De nieuwe waarden gaan over je weer kunnen verbinden met wat je eet, met het resultaat dat mensen weer blij kunnen worden van wat ze eten!

Het verleden is gekenmerkt door het uitvergrooten van de dilemma's en tegenstrijdigheden: gezond, bio, uit de streek of fair-trade of vegetarisch of vergeten groenten (biodiversiteit). Het discours is nu veranderd. De nieuwe bewegingen benadrukken niet de mogelijke tegenstrijdigheden maar ze zien al deze waarden als met elkaar samenhangend.

Autonomie en zelfredzaamheid

Lokale voedselproductie heeft ook te maken met een wens naar meer autonomie, zelfredzaamheid, onafhankelijkheid en het terugwinnen van controle over eigen voedsel. Deze controle is in het bestaande systeem grotendeels verloren gegaan. Stadslandbouw wordt ook geassocieerd met 'voedselnationalisme', wat iets uitdrukt van de trots op nationale producten en een afkeer van een geglobaliseerd voedselsysteem dat als minder veilig en minder transparant gezien wordt en de menselijke maat overstijgt.

De individuele mens heeft steeds meer het idee verwaarloosd en belazerd te worden in het systeem. Tot dit ontwaken hebben bijvoorbeeld programma's als Keuringsdienst van Waarde hun bijdrage geleverd. Veel mensen begrijpen tegenwoordig dat het voedsel-industriële complex niet in eerste instantie levert wat goed is voor de mens maar met name produceert met het oog op winst en groei. Bij consumenten ontstaat een nieuwe mentaliteit die doortrokken is van autonomie en zelfredzaamheid. Voedsel verbouwen is een haalbare en plezierige domein waarin

mensen die autonomie weer kunnen ervaren. Met eten kun je experimenteren en je doet het helemaal zelf.

Er is enorme groei potentieel in deze oriëntatie. De drang naar echtheid en puurheid staat tegenover het passieve consumeren en verleiden van de consument. De voedingsindustrie, die het liefst alles voor consumenten wil verzorgen en consumenten aan zich wil binden, speelt hierop in door ook steeds meer kinderlijk eten te produceren en een infantiel eetpatroon te stimuleren (steeds zoeter, steeds verder verwerkt). Mensen voelen zich hierdoor steeds vaker niet serieus genomen. Volgens mij raakt het passieve consumeren uit de mode. De volwassen geworden consument beseft steeds meer het grote verhaal en de samenhangen en probeert te consumeren wat goed is voor de mens en de aarde. Deze volwassene consument is dus niet meer zo zeer gediend van makkelijk en goedkoop – deze waarden zijn steeds minder van deze tijd.

De Waard schetst hier een voor ondernemers erg belangrijke ontwikkeling. Zij verbindt de wens naar meer autonomie en zelfredzaamheid met het opkomen van een nieuwe type consument, die volwassenere keuzes maakt. Het gaat er dus niet alleen maar om om de consument te verleiden, maar ook om manieren te vinden, deze als een volwassen, weldenkend mens aan te spreken. Het lijkt er inderdaad op dat er een kentering optreedt in het belang van waarden zoals gemakkelijk en goedkoop. Een enquête in Duitsland liet onlangs zien dat lage prijzen tegenwoordig voor minder mensen een belangrijk criterium zijn.

De trend naar meer lokaal eten weerspiegelt ook de wens om de eigen leefomgeving actief vorm te geven en invloed uit te kunnen oefenen, zich voedsel weer *toe te eigenen*. Dit kan vertaald worden naar een bredere wens van consumenten om serieus genomen te worden. De stadslandbouwers willen de landbouw verrijken met een *'do it yourself'* attitude, ambachtelijkheid, sociale rechtvaardigheid, ondernemingsmodellen gebaseerd op samenwerking, fair-trade, en een solidair economisch systeem.²¹ Bij deze trends kunnen ondernemers aansluiten.

²¹ Zie: De Groene Amsterdammer (2011). Eten. Nummer 29-30. (www.groene.nl/2011/29_30)

5. Bakery Hofpfistererei

Sources: Interview with Karl Förster, head marketing of the Hofpfistererei, Hofpfistererei 20th anniversary book 'Brot. Symbol fuer Natur, Leben und Kultur', Umwelterklärung mit Ökobilanz 2010, 'Die sieben Geheimnisse des Pfisterbrotes and material found on www.hofpfistererei.de

Introduction and highlights

The Hofpfistererei is Germany's biggest and most successful organic bakery. The bakery has been producing traditional, natural sourdough bread since 1331 in the city of Munich and evolved to a big company that nowadays has roughly 160 bakeries of which 100 in Bavaria, and the rest throughout Germany. In 1984 the bakery decided to make a complete switch to organic ingredients. Careful preparations preceded this step. In the years before, the owner Ludwig Stocker campaigned among Bavarian farmers to turn to organic production since organic farmers were non-existent. The owner actively approached farmer unions and spoke publicly to them about the merits of organic farming. Nowadays, the company sources 80% of its grain from Bavaria. On top of that, the bakery owns a private mill that provides their high quality flour and the mill has grown out to be Germany's largest organic mill (20.000 t per year). It has been calculated that roughly 35% of bread consumed in Munich is now organic, due to the presence of the Hofpfistererei. Such success in the marketing of an organic product makes the bakery an interesting case.

The lessons that can be drawn from this case are as follows: The company attributes its success to the fact that principles are at the heart of their operations giving the enterprise a direction. These principles are taste, naturalness, and originality. According to Hofpfistererei, organic (naturalness) does not stand in its own right, but it is rather a complement of superior taste. Furthermore, the value of originality can be understood as regional and cultural sensitivity. Companies should therefore focus on different values associated with food. Sustainable food consumption must be seen in a broader context

where among others connectedness to nature, social relations and food competences are all taken into account.

Principles at the heart of the operation

The Hoffpisterei underwent a major transition roughly twenty years ago switching to organic production and defining the key principles of the organization. Förster argues that the company's success in selling organic bread is related to these principles, because they clearly describe their mission and their target group. At the same time, they attract employees that fit with the company.

In 1978 we formulated a clear mission of the company. It is the goal of the Hoffpisterei to bake and to give to more and more people, who can appreciate this, more natural, tasty and original breads. This is not about revenues but about a clear target group and about our production principles. [...] We are member of a union of organic producers and I believe 80% are privately owned. This is an important precondition that principles and values are literally at the heart of the enterprise. And I believe it is also a factor of success. Somebody has to take the risk and carry the responsibility and an employee will not do that. The beautiful thing is that people then can identify with these principles, and we have seen this in our personnel development. At the beginning, people in the company were not 'green', they were just normal people, but the transition to organic has shown that up to the highest level people thought more green or new people came in that were completely green.

Förster points to the influence of private ownership and the crucial willingness of a person to carry responsibility as opposed to a company headed by a management team without a private owner. He argues that principles need to be associated with a person because then other people and employees can identify with them more easily. Förster witnessed over the years, that this brought about a new way of thinking among current employees and it attracted new people that already shared the company's values and principles. He contrasts the Hoffpisterei approach with that of a conventional bakery chain that tries to sell organic bread, occasionally:

They make little steps: once in a while an organic bread, but merely as a marketing strategy. From our experience though, it [selling organic] really has to be a firm conviction and belief because that's the only way a company can see it through. I mean, it's not like everybody embraced our idea to go organic, immediately. We got lots of criticism and disapproval, even malice and shaming. Incidental efforts will not survive, because one does not reach the right kind of people. When my concept is price-oriented, the customer comes to get a bargain.

He argues that putting one's principles first, helps the company also to reach the group that also endorses these principles.

The superior role of taste

Thus principles are at the heart of the venture – natural, tasty, and original. Förster argues that taste plays the leading role and is so to speak a prerequisite for the product being also organic.

A product that is not tasty will never be bought again, so the taste needs to have a unique position. And when the food tastes good, then it can be organic and it can be a little more expensive. I believe this is something that needs to be improved with regards to organic products: The special thing about an organic product is not the quality of the 'raw material' but it must be the superior taste. And usually superior taste can best be produced with organic ingredients! Think of meat, sausages, cheese, milk, yoghurt: these are definitely tastier, when they are organic. Of course, here it is important that you have some kind of taste education. Taste is always first! ... We have been able to occupy this outstanding market position because we have this unique taste position, and because the bread is fresh and organic. Only organic cannot carry the whole concept. [...] When we switched to organic, we left our customers no choice. This was a well prepared move. Of course some customers left, the prices slightly increased, but after half a year they had all returned.

Organic foods are not necessarily associated with superior taste, although their quality and taste 'potential' are not up for discussion. Förster also argues that it depends on the product, whether the taste advantage of organic can unfold its full potential and secondly he points to the important value of tasting skills as

part of people's food competences. According to his experience, it is mainly taste that binds their customers and the switch to organic is accepted if taste remains the same. Taste and naturalness can be viewed as complements.

Regional and cultural sensitivity

The Hofpfisterei is very sensitive to food culture, cultural changes, and the local environment. The third principle of 'originality' comprises of what might be coined regional and cultural sensitivity. The cultural aspect of eating bread is highlighted, invoking thousands of years of history and tradition.

The preparation of sourdough is an ancient tradition that was already common in ancient Egypt. We use no auxiliaries or additives. The dough is strictly flour and water and all organic. What it needs is time and patience, because the dough rises for roughly 24 hours. This starter culture is from 1978 and it contains therefore also all the old microbes and bacteria that make the bread so well digestible. ... Bread is a staple food and a regional food. For example, we see a trend of bread becoming lighter in color when moving West within Germany. In Bavaria dominate the mixed rye breads, Franconia loves the spiced varieties, and the North loves the real dark rye bread. We can cover this with our range of products. Austria would be an interesting market to expand on, because the food culture is close to ours. In contrast, in France, for example, people eat only white bread.

The company strives to align its principles with cultural trends observed in society:

Currently, consumption patterns are undergoing radical change. This city for example consists for a large part of single households and two-person households with no kids, who all live a similar lifestyle. These groups rarely light a candle and settle for a nice meal at home. So, more and more food is consumed outside the home. These customs imply a much bigger problem: food competence is lost entirely. 80% of people under 30 think that warming up an instant meal in the microwave is a cooking process.... Kids learn nothing about food, so the food culture changes inevitably. The question to me is, whether we get a renaissance of traditional food culture. If that is not the case, we will need to turn to institutions such as university

or company canteens. Or we provide sandwiches, which is quite successful. Thus, we respond to the trends without sacrificing our own principles.

Because of its long history of having baked bread in this part of Germany for over 700 years, it is not surprising that the Hofpfistererei has a good sense of how to fit in and contribute locally. It relates to local culture and also tries to engage locally.

Bavaria is our region, we source 80% of our grains from here and we mainly sell it here. This generates trust and credibility. We have put signs up on all our fields, letting people know that Hofpfistererei grains are grown there. We informed our customers, and they could have a look at it and enjoy it. Many people are concerned about the environment. We process huge amounts of grains and our farmers contribute to clean groundwater and a healthy soil. This is the big asset of organic farming.

A focus on the region also contributes to the visibility of their efforts. Because they rely heavily on local sourcing, they are also in the position to demonstrate their engagement, which generates trust among its customers.

Motivating people to eat less meat

Turning to the potential tools that the government might have in motivating meat reduction, Förster argues again that food culture must be leading.

Food consumption patterns are incredibly difficult to change, so I think we can only appeal to people's reason. One should emphasize that eating a lot of meat is not healthy. Not because meat in itself is bad for us, but because our lifestyles have changed drastically, so that we do not need that much meat anymore. An exquisite, diverse food pattern with an emphasis on vegetarian food can very well be portrayed as a very sensible choice. We have an organic butcher [Hofpfistererei also offers a small assortment of meat cuts and sausages], and when you try the meat you don't go back to conventional. It is more expensive and because of that you eat it less often, so there are some independent mechanisms, one can make use of.

Förster thinks that the socio-cultural context is an important argument to use, when raising the issue of meat consumption. He suggests that people should be made aware of the current living circumstances that do not necessitate the consumption of much meat. This argument preserves the intrinsic value of meat and positions it as an occasional special treat. Secondly, he points out that the price of a product has an extremely important role in signifying not only monetary but also immaterial value of a good. Therefore, price is another mechanism that one can employ, if the valuation of meat as a delicacy instead of a mass consumed product is to be stimulated. Förster also argues however, that it becomes increasingly difficult to communicate about food-related issues if people are missing the broader context and connection to nature and food production. I ask him about the role that ethics might play in this.

Ethical principles are becoming increasingly important. However, this is also a result of people being alienated from nature, and of information regarding slaughter, animal husbandry and transport being edited and processed so brutally that people simply cannot agree with it. And if they have no understanding of slaughter then it becomes difficult to communicate about the necessities. For example, I grew up in a village and animals were slaughtered on the farm. And this was always a festivity, because something tasty was always to be had. Nobody would have thought that it was something cruel. But when you look at food in the supermarket: that has nothing to do with pleasure. We used to know our butcher and if he didn't work well, nobody would buy from him. But with the distance and the alienation everything becomes anonymous and the more brutal seems the slaughter.

Förster argues that ethical principles important for people, but that this is in fact also symptomatic of the increasing alienation that is the result of the distance between consumers and producers, food and nature. His quote underlines the need for policy makers and business to address more sustainable food consumption in a broader context where among others connectedness to nature, social relations and food competences are all taken into account.

6. San Francisco's 'Healthy and Sustainable Food Strategy'

Sources: Interview with Paula Jones, the Director of Food Systems, Department of Public Health of the City and County of San Francisco (who is also writing a dissertation: "The city feeds the poor; the struggle for a sustainable food system in San Francisco"); governmental documentation including a Summary Report entitled "Executive Directive on Healthy and Sustainable Food 03-09"; and the governmental website.

Introduction and highlights

In June of 2009, Mayor Gavin Newsom announced an executive directive to promote healthy and sustainable food in San Francisco. This first-ever comprehensive food policy for San Francisco approaches the food system *holistically*, that is, from a systems-perspective, incorporating food production, distribution, consumption, and recycling—all with the acknowledgement that a thriving local food system has far reaching benefits for the health, environment, and economy of San Francisco and its residents (governmental website).

According to Jones, one of the major benefits of this approach is that it offers a *policy tool*, that can function as a national (or perhaps even international) model for citywide food system policy and planning, focusing on implementation. And that is important, because the government has a lot of power to "set the tone." The efficacy of this tool is a result of it being based on an *integrated systems-approach*, its smart ways to *engage and activate* many citizens, organizations, and governmental departments, and its capacity to *join together multiple food-related goals and objectives*. Lastly, Jones observes gradually yet profoundly changing societal opinions, in which next to environmental values a range of *social values* are becoming increasingly important—notably social justice and equality, the right to food, health, and the strengthening of local economies, family-owned farms and worker's rights.

A systems approach: moving the whole system up

The city of San Francisco, notably in the person of its mayor, singled out food issues as being of *central* importance, as well as being a means through which to

address multiple other issues, including health, poverty, local economy, agriculture, and sustainability. According to Jones, the role of the mayor has been of crucial importance in the development of this food strategy. Generally speaking, she sees an important role for governmental bodies in addressing the web of multiple food-related issues:

I think the government has a big role to play. It can set the tone, and provide certain policy structures. And the government has a lot of assets: what we buy, what we support, the land we have, certification standards for retailers and restaurants that are doing a great job, et cetera. The government can set the tone; it supports and facilitates the local actors to get into action.

According to Jones, SF's Healthy and Sustainable Food Strategy is, in the first place, a policy tool, based on a systems approach, that engages many different actors:

It is a tool used by the chief executive of the city, who has a lot of power, to make changes on many levels in the public sector, aiming to engage all the different departments and challenge them to in their own ways to advance the goals of the food strategy, as well as to support more specific activities that result in more healthy and sustainable food production and consumption. I think it was a somewhat innovative tool at the time. The tool aims to accomplish many different goals that we have been talking about for many different years—but now the weight and the muscle of the mayor is behind it. We have had a food system approach for a long time, but this strategy gave the mayor a real platform to connect many different goals and domains: food, sustainability, agriculture, health, poverty, and economy. In that sense, the whole strategy is comprehensive and holistic; according to us, procurement policy is not food policy.

Many of the prior initiatives had not considered the value of *joining together multiple food-related goals and objectives*. The Executive Directive on Healthy and Sustainable Food was therefore significant for several reasons. According to the summary report, the directive:

1. Addressed the food system in a comprehensive, holistic way;
2. Established a national model for citywide food system policy and planning, focusing on implementation;
3. Established a policy framework for future food policy in San Francisco;
4. Directed all departments to develop a plan for implementing the food policy principles of the Directive;
5. Directed specific actions by various departments with a defined timeline;
6. Established a public/private advisory food policy council to oversee the implementation of the Directive.

So the food strategy was developed as a *framework*, such that it could also be used for other issues and domains as well. At the same time, the framework also drew on other issues and strategies in different fields and domains, to learn from the lessons they brought forth. Moreover, the tool was developed aiming for implementation, and with this concrete, and action-oriented approach, it seemed to be engaging and activating many different actors. Jones speaking:

This tool was written in a way to be aggressive, to push things through, to make things happen in a short timeline. We set up the entire calendar, and every department that had deliverables was calendared to report. So it became a great supportive structure to move the whole initiative forward. There was a work-plan in place, and there were responsible parties, and the mayor had said it needed to happen. I think it motivated a lot of people; it motivated a lot of the urban-agro-community, to get more vocal, to get more organized, to get behind it. It also required an assessment of the land, while we then didn't even know how we were going to do that. It also resulted in more funding becoming available. And gradually it has become accepted as our collective food policy history. So now the whole food-issue is owned by much more people, and by much more departments. So I think this tool really helped to engage and activate a lot of people.

In another context, Jones refers to the *institutionalization* of the work. While there is, in her view, a lot of innovation and creativity, as well as a lot of interest in food issues, the many local initiatives that are coming from civil society as

well as departmental initiatives can benefit from being connected to, and placed in the larger context of, this citywide food strategy:

What was needed is institutionalization of the work. There are so many cool, local initiatives happening already, from the local library who has speaker series on food issues to organizations that create local gardens and people who are putting bee hives on public buildings—the creativity is amazing!. So the question was really how can we move forward the initiatives that are already happening, as well as engage even more departments. So I wanted to do something that was smart, that would work, and was manageable—all with existing resources. I think this tool is pretty progressive and has inspired other cities in the country. However, a while ago New York came out with a really great food ordinance that is also setting a new example now.

Connecting seems to be the key-word: connecting different domains and issues, connecting local initiatives with each other and with governmental departments, connecting policy goals with concrete and measurable objectives, and in a more general sense, understanding food-issues on a systemic level—that is, seeing how social and environmental issues are intimately related with each other. This is a perspective that Jones sees emerging more and more in society: “gradually people are starting to see the whole food-issue more complex and broad. And it has to happen that way, simply because it is complex and broad.” Other experts have also argued for this kind of systems-approach towards food issues.

I think there is capital in recognizing that we are already addressing this issue from a food systems perspective. I see that happening in so many initiatives; people start to think bigger, more systemic—such as my friend who does “Meals on Wheels”, home delivery of meals for the elderly and disabled. She has made all her meals seasonal. So she is working with a food systems-approach, but she doesn’t claim it. And I think there is capital in that, because then we can start to use it even more effectively, and we can campaign for it. Let’s try to take stock of what is being done. If sustainable food is only for the really wealthy, then we will never have a food sustainable system.

Jones argues for a systems-approach that is oriented towards “moving the whole system up,” rather than being focused on what is happening in the margins, such as organic and biodynamic agriculture, however inspiring and important. Moving the whole system up is that the minimum quality of food production is moved in the direction of more sustainable and more healthy and nutritious food:

If we get a better sense on a system-level of what is happening and where it is going—and that there is such a diversified landscape between what’s organic and what’s conventional—then we can maybe move the whole system up. We need to move the floor up; we need to start implementing more sustainable standards and practices system-wide, rather than being focused on getting completely organic for example. There is a lot of organic agriculture that is not necessarily sustainable; some of it consists of monocultures for example.

Connecting the social and the environmental dimensions of food issues

Directly related to Jones’ argument that the whole food system needs to be ‘moved up’ in its capacity to deliver sustainable and healthy food for *all* people, and not just for the wealthy and educated elite, is her concern with the social dimension of food issues, notably poverty, hunger, justice and health issues:

San Francisco is as a city already really aware. There is just so much innovation happening in this area. However, more recently people seem to have become more aware of the social, justice, and equity dimensions of food issues. I think the whole food movement started out both “uber-foody”, as well as very much oriented towards nature and environmental issues—so nature-centered rather than human-centered. But more recently I think people have been becoming more aware how the whole food issue is related to, for example, poverty and justice issues, need, health, and hunger. People are thus generally starting to see how it is all integrally related. You can’t separate them: we won’t have a sustainable food system as long as not everybody has access to it. And if we don’t make these kind of connections, the organic movement will stay limited to a really nice, but ultimately “boutiqy” kind of movement, rather than a truly sustainable food system, in which the masses have access to sustainable and healthy food. So it is really about raising the foundation. I

am more interested in introducing and facilitating more sustainable agricultural practices that actually change the system on a larger scale, than in trying to get everything completely organic and biodynamic. So that is my personal goal: I think that everybody should be able to eat food that is produced according to some auditable practices around sustainability.

These values of, and movements around, social issues—such as justice, equity, sovereignty, poverty and hunger, obesity and health, worker’s protection, et cetera—have up to this point not always been directly related to the movement for sustainability and environmental issues, but Jones sees this happen increasingly in society. Thereby, a whole range of motivating values and drivers for support of this movement is becoming available:

I think social justice and equity et cetera are important value-orientations that are driving this work for a more sustainable and healthy food system. You can think of farm communities, pesticide exposure, pesticide drift, farm workers that don’t have access to fresh food, and on the urban side, people who have no access to healthy and affordable food. There are many different groups and actors that don’t benefit or even suffer from the present industrial-technological food system, that together potentially make up an enormous movement and social force. I also see people starting to connect these different dimensions of food issues. I know for example chefs of soup kitchens who are trying to be really creative to integrate sustainable food. And hospitals that are trying to get organic food for their patients. So I look at where the big impact is. Initially I came myself more from the side of nature-and environmental values, animal welfare, et cetera, but quickly I came to see that poverty and social issues are such an important piece of the puzzle.

Obviously, as one third of Americans live under or close to the poverty barrier (on the basis of the supplemental poverty index), people’s actual purchasing power is a big barrier, as in the short term these more sustainable practices tend to result in higher prices for consumers. So here, so emphasizes Jones, “we need political support for it.” And: “it also shows how interconnected everything is; how you can’t really separate the sustainability from the poverty issue.”

Part 3: A reference list with sustainable food initiatives

1. Initiatives in the Netherlands

Maatschappelijke initiatieven

- Bonenestafette (www.bonenestafette.nl)
- De vegetarische restaurantweek (www.devegetarischerrestaurantweek.nl)
- Variatie op de kaart (www.variatieopdekaart.nl) - professionele workshops voor koks om vegetarisch te koken
- Veggie in pumps (www.veggieinpumps.nl) –‘vegan is hip and stylish’
- The Green team (www.thegreenteam.nu) - team dat ingehuurd kan worden om een duurzamere lifestyle onder de aandacht te brengen.
- Veggierose (www.veggierose.nl) - staat voor genieten in stijl met respect voor mens, dier en natuur. Met een passie voor vers, puur, homemade en biologisch.
- Feeding good (www.feedinggood.com) - trainingsprogramma duurzaam voedsel voor horeca professionals
- Smakelijk duurzame stad (www.smakelijkduurzamestad.nl) - website voor locale voedselinitiatieven
- Food Film Festival (www.foodfilmfestival.nl)
- Farming the city (www.farmingthecity.net)
- Slow Food (www.slowfood.nl)
- YFM (www.youthfoodmovement.nl) - jongeren groep van Slow Food
- Ik ben flexitarier (www.ikbenflexitarier.nl) - informatie voor flexitariers
- Stoere vrouwen (www.stoerevrouwen.nl)
- Vegetariërsbond (www.vegetariers.nl)
- Club Green (www.clubgreen.nl) – lifestyle guide
- Duurzaam varkensvlees (www.duurzaamvarkensvlees.nl) - Ketenorganisatie voor beter varkensvlees, 100% Nederlands
- Beter leven (www.beterleven.dierenbescherming.nl)
- Eetbare wand (www.eetbarewand.nl) – voedsel aan de muur groeien

- Adopteer een kip (www.adopteereenkip.nl)
- Nederlandse vereniging voor veganisme (www.veganisme.org)
- ZTRDG (www.ztrdg.nl) - duurzame kookblog
- 33 initiatieven te vinden via de website van Urgenda (www.urgenda.nl)

Winkels en duurzame merken

- Odin – (www.odin.nl) - groente abonnementen
- Hofwebwinkel (www.hofwebwinkel.nl) – biologisch online bestelwinkel
- De Natuurwinkel (www.denatuurwinkel.nl)
- De Groene Weg (www.degroeneweg.nl)
- De vegetarische slager (www.devegetarischelager.nl)
- Gulpener (www.gulpener.nl)
- Pure graze foods (www.puregrazefoods.nl) - grasgevoerd rund, verkocht o.a. door supermarkt Boni en webwinkel
- Santas koffie (www.santaskoffie.nl) - duurzame koffieblok
- Simon Levelt (www.simonlevelt.nl)
- Terrasana (www.terrasana.nl)
- Bioland (www.bioland.nl)
- MarQt (www.marqt.nl)
- Goody Foods (www.goodyfoods.nl) - soort natuurwinkel
- Demeter (www.demeter.nl)
- Ekoplaza (www.ekoplaza.nl) - Natuurwinkel gecommiteerd aan lokale inkoop
- Estafette (www.estafette.nl)
- Natudis (www.natudis.nl) - 100% Wessanen dochter. Natuurwinkel is onderdeel van het bedrijf. Eigen merken: De Rit, Ekoland, LunaeTerra, Natufood, Fertilia en Molenaartje (www.molenaartje.nl)
- 't IJskuypje (www.ijskuypje.nl) – ambachtelijk ijs
- 't Stampptje (www.stampptje.nl) – ambachtelijke stampptje take away
- De boerenmarkt (www.boerenmarkt.nl)
- Meatless (www.meatless.nl) – uitstekende plantaardige vleesvervangers
- Ojah (www.ajah.nl) - uitstekende plantaardige vleesvervangers
- Maza (www.maza.nl) - vegetarische delicatessen en vleesvervangers

- Bugs Organic food (www.bugsplaza.nl)
- Webpoelier (www.webpoelier.nl) - online verkoop van vlees en insecten

Restaurants

- De Kas (www.dekas.nl)
- Burgermeester (www.burgermeester.nl) - Restaurant met duurzame burgers (tot 50% biologisch)
- Raw Foods Café (www.rawfoodcafe.nl)
- De biologische snackbar (www.natuurlijksmullen.nl)
- De vliegende schotel (www.vliegendeschotel.nl) - veganistisch, vegetarisch, biologisch restaurant
- De Librije (www.librije.com) - Michelin ster restaurant met regionale keuken

Overheid

- Week van de smaak (www.weekvandesmaak.nl)
- Stadslandbouw (www.urban-agriculture.wur.nl/NL/projecten_stadslandbouw)
- Transforum (www.transforum.nl)
- Doe maar duurzaam (www.doemaarduurzaam.nl) - NCRV tv programma over duurzaamheid

2. Initiatives in the USA

Corporate initiatives

- Whole Foods (www.wholefoods.com)
- SoyJoy (www.soyjoy.com)
- Daiya Foods (www.daiyafoods.com) - vegan cheese alternative
- Earth Balance (www.earthbalancenatural.com) - buttery vegan spreads
- Ecovegan (www.ecovegan.com) - healthy meat alternative
- Farm Fresh To You (www.farmfreshtoyou.com) - organic produce

delivered fresh from our farm to your doorstep

- Lydia's Lovin' Foods (www.lydiaslovinfoods.com) - organic, vegan, raw, gluten-free catering and foods
- Living Tree Community Foods (livingtreecommunity.com) - organic nut butters
- Lotus Foods (lotusfoods.com) - sustainable and more protein-rich rice
- VegeUSA (www.vegeusa.com) - meat alternatives
- Coconut Bliss (www.coconutbliss.com) - dairy- and soy free ice cream
- Happy Cow (www.happycow.net) - the healthy eating guide
- Eucalyptus Magazine (www.eucalyptusmagazine.com) - magazine about the eco-life
- Greenopia (www.greenopia.com) - experts on green living
- Vegetarian USA (www.vegetarianusa.com) - vegetarian travel guide
- Vegetarian Times (www.vegetariantimes.com) - vegetarian magazine
- Vegan products (www.veganstore.com)
- Mixt Greens (www.mixtgreens.com) - innovative eco-gourmet restaurant
- Café Gratitude (www.cafegratitude.com) - Organic, vegan, raw restaurant
- Tatakishi Sushi Bar (www.tatakisushibar.com) - Sustainable sushi bar
- Fish (www.331fish.com) - sustainable fish restaurant

Societal initiatives

- Meatless Monday Movement (www.meatlessmonday.com)
- The Food Project (www.thefoodproject.org)
- CoFed - Cooperative Food Empowerment Directive (www.cofed.org)
- Organic Consumers Association (www.organicconsumers.org)
- People's Grocery (www.peoplesgrocery.org)
- Women changing the way we eat (www.farmerjane.org)
- Slow Food USA (www.slowfoodusa.org)
- Slow Food Nation (www.slowfoodnation.org)
- The Center for Eco-literacy (www.ecoliteracy.org)
- Center for Food Safety (www.centerforfoodsafety.org)

- Vegan Action (www.vegan.org)
- Mercy For Animals (www.mercyforanimals.org)
- Peta - People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (www.peta.org)
- FARM – Farm Animal Rights Movement (www.farmusa.org) - promoting planetary survival through plant-based eating
- Local Harvest (www.localharvest.org) - information on where to find local and sustainable food
- Land Stewardship Project (www.landstewardshipproject.org)
- CSA Farms (www.csafarms.org) - Community Supported Agriculture
- Urban Farming (www.urbanfarming.org)
- Farm to Table (www.farmtotablenm.org)
- The emerging American meal (www.farmtotableonline.org) - local, sustainable and community-oriented foodblog
- Real Food Initiatives (www.realfoodinitiatives.com)
- The Real Food Challenge (www.realfoodchallenge.org)
- Marin Organic (www.marinorganic.org) - association of organic producers in Marin County

Appendix: About the researchers...

Hanna Schösler (1976) is currently completing her Ph.D. research at the Institute for Environmental Studies (IVM), VU University in Amsterdam. She is also a visiting fellow at the Rachel Carson Center, Ludwig Maximilians Universität in Munich. Her research addresses socio-cultural influences on human behavior and the question to what extent culture can benefit a transition towards more sustainable lifestyles and associated food choices. In her work she applies theories of motivation, human values and culture. She is a passionate cook herself and appeared recently on NCRV (www.doemaarduurzaam.nl). Schösler published her work in academic journals and she developed a project on sustainable food for primary schools in the Netherlands. She holds a master's degree (*cum laude*) in Environmental Resource Management. Prior to her academic involvement she worked on sustainability for an international catering company and researched consumer behaviour and usability at the Dutch Institute for Applied Sciences, TNO.

Annick Hedlund-de Witt (1978) is currently completing her Ph.D. research at the Institute for Environmental Studies (IVM), VU University in Amsterdam. She is also a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Biotechnology and Society, Delft University of Technology. In her work, Annick explores the relationship between *worldviews* and the goals and issues of sustainable development, including social-cultural change, environmental behavior, and policymaking. Over the years, she has fulfilled several board functions and has published widely, ranging from columns and opinion-articles in newspapers, to research reports and scientific articles in international journals. Until 2008, Annick worked at the Earth Value Foundation (Stichting wAarde), and at the Centre for Sustainable Development, Radboud University in Nijmegen. She holds a master's degree (*cum laude*) in social environmental studies, also from Radboud University. Annick is very passionate about sustainable, life-enhancing, and delicious diets and lifestyles.

Colofon

Eiwittransitie en culturele innovatie: Wat bedrijfsleven, overheden en organisaties kunnen leren van duurzame voedseltrends in binnen- en buitenland

Amsterdam, maart 2012

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Hanna Schösler

Lin de Mol, kunstenaar

De foto's op de voorpagina refereren aan de verschillende gedaantes waarin een verandering van eetpatronen zich kan voordoen. Kleinere porties vlees, nadrukkelijke vervanging, en verschuiving naar een andere compositie van de maaltijd waarin de nadruk ligt op plantaardige eiwitten.

Opmaak

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